

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

PART IV

PAPERS READ BEFORE

THE

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

OF

BOMBAY

AND OTHER KINDRED SOCIETIES
AND INSTITUTIONS

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TO
THE SACRED MEMORY
OF
DEWAN BAHADUR PURUSHOTAM BALKRISHNA JOSHI,
*My friend and Colleague in the study of Cultural
Anthropology,*

-

PREFACE.

The number of papers read by me on Anthropological subjects figure at 106. They were read before the undermentioned Societies and Institutions:—

92 Before the Anthropological Society of Bombay.

12 Before the Anthropological Societies of various Science Congresses and Oriental Conferences, held in different parts of India.

1 Before the Folk-Lore Society of England.¹

1 Before the Royal Anthropological Institute of England.²

Out of these 106 papers, 95 are published as follows:—

30 in my Anthropological Papers, Part I (1911)

20 " " " Part II (1918).

14 " " " Part III (1924)

10 in my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees" (1922).

21 are published in this Volume as Anthropological Papers, Part IV

The rest have remained unpublished as yet.

¹ Subject "The Vish Kanya or Poison-damsel of Ancient India, illustrated by the Story of Susan Râmashgar in the Persian Burzo-Nâmeh" read in the premises of the University College, during my second visit of Europe, on 17th June 1925, when Professor John Myres of the New College, Oxford, presided. It is published in the Folk Lore of 31st December 1927 (Vol. XXXVII No. 4, pp 324-337).

² Subject—"The Daily Life of a Parsee of the 17th Century as based upon the Farziât-nâmeh of Dastur Darab Pahlân. It was read on 9th June 1925, when Mr. H. J. E. Peake, Vice President of the Institute, was in the chair. The paper was submitted in the form of a Lecture, delivered from Notes and is not published. (*Vide* the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute—Volume LV, July to December 1925, p. 486).

I note with satisfaction that, during my long connection, with the Anthropological Society of Bombay, of over 42 years, during which I had the pleasure of serving it in various capacities, especially as its Honorary Secretary for about 29 years, it was my good fortune to receive a willing help from time to time from my esteemed colleagues of the Council, and, from the Presidents of the Society, out of whom under as many as 19 Presidents, I had the good fortune to work. I beg to tender once more my most respectful thanks to all of them.

I beg to connect this Volume, with the name of my deceased friend and colleague in the study of Cultural Anthropology. He was a member of my Anthropological Society since 1890 and was its Vice-President for 15 years till the end of his life. He was its President for the year 1919. It was only on the 6th March 1929, that my Society passed a resolution congratulating him for the title of Dewan Bahadur conferred upon him by the Government. It had to perform the sad duty at its very next meeting of the 3rd April 1929 to pass a resolution recording the sad loss caused to the Society by his death. Dewan Bahadur Joshi was a kind of "Walking Gazette", telling us from his powerful memory, when required, a lot of traditional lore and giving us much literary information. May his Holy Spirit continue to inspire many.

211, PILOT BUNDER ROAD,
COLABA, BOMBAY.
9th April, 1929.

} JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,

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A Catechism of the Zoroastrian Religion.

The Naojote Ceremony of the Parsees.

The Marriage Ceremony of the Parsees.

Marriage Customs among the Parsees, their comparison with similar Customs of other Nations.

The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana. Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, Shatroihâ-i-Airân, va Afdya va Sahigiya-i Seistân, i.e., the Memoir of Zarir, Cities of Iran, and the Wonders and Marvels of Seistan, (Pahlavi Translations, Part I, Texts in Gujarati character, with English and Gujarati translations and notes).

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Memorial Papers.

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Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab.

Moral Extracts from Zoroastrian Books.

A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates.

A Glimpse into the work of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view.

Education among the Ancient Iranians.

Impressions d'un Parsi sur la Ville de Paris.

La Visite d'un Parsi a la Ville de Constantinople.

La Ceremonie du Naojote parmi les Parsis.

GUJARATI.

વાયુચક્ર શાસ્ત્ર (Meteorology).

જમશેદ, હોમ અને આતશ (Jamshed, Hom and Fire).

અવસ્તા જમાનાની ધર સંસારી જીવગી, ભૂગોળ અને ઐક્યરનામું
(The Social Life, Geography and Articles of Faith of
Avosta Times).

અનાહીત અને ફરોહર (Anâhita and Farohar).

ભવિષ્યની જીવગી અથવા આત્માનું અમરપણું (Immortality of the soul).

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Names).

ઈરાની વિષયો, ભાગ પેહેલો (Iranian Essays, Part I).

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શાહનામું મીનોચેહેરના રાજ્ય સુધી (Shah-nâmeḥ upto the reign
of Minocheher).

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Prasarak Society, Part I).

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Prasarak Society, Part II).

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Prasarak Society, Part III).

જ્ઞાન પ્રસારક વિષયો, ભાગ ચોથો (Lectures before the Dnyan
Prasarak Society, Part IV)

ઈરાનનું પેશદાદીઆન વંશ (Peshdâdian Dynastṽ of Iran).

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જરથોસ્તી ધર્મ સંબંધી ભાષણો અને વાચ્ચેજો ભાગ પેહેલો (Lectures
and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects, Part I).

જરથોસ્તી ધર્મ સંબંધી ભાષણો અને વાચ્ચેજો, ભાગ ખીજો (Lectures
and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects, Part II).

જરથોસ્તી ધર્મ સંબંધી ભાષણો અને વાચ્ચેજો, ભાગ ત્રીજો (Lectures
and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects, Part III).

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જરથોસ્તી ધર્મ સંબંધી ભાષણો અને વાચ્સ્પેજો, ભાગ પાંચમો (Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects Part V).

જરથોસ્તી ધર્મ સંબંધી ભાષણો અને વાચ્સ્પેજો, ભાગ છઠો (Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian subjects Part VI).

બુન્દહેશ (Bundehesh, Pahlavi Translations, Part II)

કદીમ ઇરાનીઓ, હીરોડોટસ અને સ્ટ્રાબો મુજબ, અવરના અને પીળ પારસી પુસ્તકોની સરખામણી સાથે The Ancient Iranians, according to Herodotus and Strabo, compared with the Avesta and other Parsee books.

શાહનામાના દાસ્તાનો ભાગ ૧ અને ૨. Episodes from the Shâh-nâmeh, Parts I and II.

શાહનામાની મુંદરીઓ (Heroines of the Shâh-nâmeh).

મુકતાદના દીવસો કેટલા છે ? તે બાબેની પેહેલવી, પાઝંદ, ફારસી વિગેરે પુસ્તકોને આધારે તપાસ (An Inquiry, from Pahlavi, Pazend, Persian and other works, of the subject of the number of Days of the Farvardegan).

જરથોસ્તી ધર્મ સંબંધી કેળવણી આપનારી અને જ્ઞાન ફેલાવનારી મડળી હસ્તક.

જરથોસ્તી ધર્મ સંબંધી પ્રશ્નોત્તર (Zoroastrian Catechism).

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જરથોસ્તી ધર્મના કામો અને ક્રીયાઓ (Zoroastrian rites and ceremonies).

પુરાતન ઇરાનનો ઇતિહાસ, ભાગ પેહેલો (Ancient History of Iran, Part I).

WORKS EDITED BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

K. R. CAMA MEMORIAL VOLUME.

THE PAHLAVI MADIGAN-I-HAZAR DADISTAN.

K. R. CAMA MASONIC JUBILEE VOLUME

SPIEGEL MEMORIAL VOLUME

SIR J. J. MADRESSA JUBILEE VOLUME.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS.

PART IV

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF A CHRISTIAN OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND AND THE SOCIAL LIFE OF A PARSEE OF MODERN INDIA. *

I.

It is often well said, that human nature is the same. That being the case, we find, that in one period or another, of the growth of civilization of a people, many of its customs and manners are similar to those of some other people at some period of their existence. An Englishman of the present twentieth century, when he comes to India, and sees, hears, or reads of the customs and manners of the Indians of the present day, feels a little surprised at finding many things strange. But, if he will cast an eye upon a picture of the social customs and manners of his own people of about the fifteenth century, he will find, that in the modern social life of the people of India, he sees, as it were, a reflex of the social life of his ancestors of England about 500 years ago.

The object of this paper is to give a brief picture of some social customs and manners of mediæval England and compare that picture with that of the social customs and manners of the present-day India. The subject of the paper is suggested to me by a recent interesting book, "The Pastons and their England"¹ wherein, the author gives us a peep into the social life of the

* This paper was read before the Anthropological Section of the tenth Indian Science Congress held at Lucknow in January 1923 (Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay. Vol XII No 8, pp 974—1003)

¹ The Pastons and their England, by H. S. Bennett, of the Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1922. The Pastons were a family who claimed their descent from a Norman ancestor. Mr. Bennett has based his book principally on the letters of this family which lived in the 15th century.

England of the 15th century. Of course, India being more a continent than a country, and a continent of people of various creeds and colours, the customs and manners of one part differ, at times, from those of another part. But generally, what we may call, the household life is the same in its broad aspects. In this paper, I will speak, of what I know of the social life of the Parsees, but, I think, that, in what I will say, my Hindu friends will find much of a reflex of their household life also. Though the customs and manners of the Parsees have undergone a great change during the last 50 years, still there are a number of Parsee families in Bombay, and many in the mofussil Parsee centres like Naosari, Surat and Broach, whose customs and manners are still of the old type, reminding us of old England. In this paper, I will speak of Mediæval England's social life, as described in the above book, under the headings of the three principal events of a man's life, viz., (1) Birth, (2) Marriage and (3) Death.

II.

(1) *Birth.*

In England of the fifteenth century, they held some festivities for the birth of a child, even before birth, in anticipation of the good auspicious event. A rich family held a "large and festive gathering .. consequent on the expected birth." This occasion was held to be a proper occasion when the family's subordinates and dependents expected presents and gifts.

Among the Parsees, the occasion of the fifth month of pregnancy, spoken of as panch-masyūn (पंचमास्यं) i.e., the occasion of the fifth month of pregnancy, and the occasion of the seventh month, known as Agharni are celebrated with some eclat. That is the custom also among the Hindus and more especially among the Hindus of Gujarat. It must be noted, that these days are observed as days of rejoicing only in the case of first pregnancy and not in those of the subsequent ones. The lady, who is *enceinte*, is presented with a suit of clothes by her parents and her husband's parents and there is

a mutual exchange of sweets and dinners. I remember a cousin of mine celebrating the Agharni (seventh month's occasion) of his wife with a great banquet where the guests were mostly ladies. His house being small for the large number of invited guests, he celebrated the occasion at a public *waddi* (banquet-place) where a band of music played for the whole day.

In the sweets of the Agharni day, a kind of sweet in the form of a cocoanut plays an important part. The lady is made to hold these five or seven cocoanut-form sweets in the fold of her *sâri*. The cocoanut seems to signify the head of a man, and the signification of the ceremony seems to be, that it is wished that the lady may have about five or seven children.¹

Coming to the event of Birth itself, we find that Mr. Bennett treats Birth, Marriage and Death under the chapter of Religion. He says: "No account of life in mediæval England could be complete which failed to recognise the very important part played by religion in these times. Few things, indeed, were more familiar to every man, woman and child, than were the parish church and the parish priest. The parish church was the scene of many of the great events of their lives. There they were baptised, married, and in due course buried. If, therefore, we examine the mediæval attitude towards birth, or death, or marriage, we are enabled to understand how immense was the part the Church played in the lives of the people."² What Mr. Bennett says of mediæval England on the subject of these principal

1 The following Indian story seems to connect cocoanut with the head of a man: An Astrologer once said to a king at a certain time, that the time was so auspicious, that anything sown into ground, even on stony ground, at the time, could grow well and flourish. The king asked "Suppose, somebody sows a man's head on a stony ground will that also grow up as a luxuriant tree?" "Yes," said the astrologer. Thereupon, the king cut off the head of the astrologer and buried it under a stony piece of ground. The cocoanut palm grew out of it. The head-like form, and the fibres of the nut resembling the hair of a man's head, are believed to signify the head of a man and to suggest the folklore about the cocoanut.

² Pastons and their England, p. 193.,

events of a man's life is quite true of the present day India. As among the Hindus, so among the Parsees, the Church—and I use the word in the broad sense of Religion—played an important part, and the family priest, whether the Hindu Brahmin or the Parsee Mobed, was, in an Indian household, what the Parish Priest was in mediæval England.

In Mediæval England, a child's life began with baptism. Mr. Bennett says: "Baptism in the fifteenth century seemed to most people to be the natural and necessary consequence of birth. Church-teaching made it very clear that every effort must be made not to allow any child to remain unbaptised for any length of time. If a child seemed unlikely to live, the parents or the midwife might baptise it at once. Midwives, especially, were taught to understand the essential words and actions which made the sacrament valid. In the ordinary way there was no need for such drastic methods, and the infant was baptised at the parish church. This took place as soon as possible, often upon the same day as the child was born. The god-parents were hastily summoned, and the baby taken to church by the midwife, accompanied by a crowd of friends and neighbours The god-parents and other friends usually gathered together and spent the rest of the day in feasting and drinking."

Among the Parsees, the child immediately on birth, was not taken to the Church or fire-temple, but, from the fire-temple was brought home for it, the consecrated juice of the Haoma (Vedic Soma) plant, and a few drops of the sacred drink were given to it. The Farzyât Nâmeḥ of Dastur Dâráb Pâhlan² says, that a few drops of the Haoma juice should be the first drink of a new-born child. If the consecrated Haoma (para-Haoma) juice is not available at any adjoining Agiâry or Fire-temple, anybody at home may pound a few twigs of the Haoma plant with a few leaves of the pomegrenate tree and give the juice of the

¹ *Ibid* pp 193-194.

² *Vide* the Farzyât Nâmeḥ published by me Text, p. 1. Version, p 1.

mixture as the first drink to the child. Anquetil Du Perron, thus, speaks of the practice of the Parsees of Surat in the latter half of the 18th Century: "Lorsqu'une femme est un travail, le Mobed prie pour elle; et dès qu'elle est délivrée, la première chose qu'on lui présente, ainsi qu'à l'enfant, est le *Parahom*."¹ The object of a hasty baptism by the midwife among the mediæval Christians was to ensure the fold of the Christian faith for the child. So, among Parsees, as the initiation of the child into the faith did not take place till the age of about seven with the celebration of the Naojote, corresponding to the Christian confirmation, if a child of seven died before the Naojote, care was taken to put on the child, the sacred shirt (*sudreh*), the emblem of Zoroastrianism, before the disposal of the body.

III.

2. Marriage.

(a) Mr. Bennett says of Marriage that, as now, banns were published three times. These three banns remind a Parsee of the three questions to the marrying couple and their witnesses and their replies.

(b) The question in the Christian church of the 15th century was only to one party, but among the Parsees it was to both the wedding parties.

(c) The mediæval question of the Christian Church was: "Hast thou wille to have this woman to thi wedded wif?" (Reply) "Ye Syr".² The admonition then was: "My thou wel fynde at thi best to love hur and hold ye to hur and to no other to thi lives end." Reply. "Ye Syr."² Compare with this the following question to a Parsee marrying couple and their reply:

¹ Zend Avesta, Tome II Partie I p. 564. The Passage means: When a woman is in labours, the Mobed (priest) prays for her and when she is delivered, the first thing which they give to her and also to the child is the Parahom.

² Pastons and their England, p 195.

Question : "Have you preferred to enter into this contract of marriage upto the end of your life with righteous mind?" Both reply : "We have preferred."

(d) As to the marriage festivities, we read that in England, "There was much good eating and drinking...sometimes rich folk, in leaving money by will for the marriages of poor girls, definitely state, it is to be spent 'towardses their dynners in the dayes of their maryages.'"¹ We find, that among the Parsees also, some rich people provide, by their last Wills or Testaments, certain sums of money to be spent after the marriages of poor girls. That provision is in accordance with the teaching of their Vendidad, which speaks of three principal kinds of Charity : (1) To relieve distress, (2) To help marriage, and (3) to help education. The Vendidad (IV 44) says : "If a co-religionist—be he brother or friend—comes to thee with a desire for a wife, get him married to a wife." To get a maid, who has reached her puberty, married is a meritorious act (Vend. XIV 15). I quote here what I have said on the subject in my book on "The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees" (p. 15 n. 1) : "It is not unusual for Parsees to enjoin by their last testament or by a Trust, that a certain amount of their wealth may be spent in charity in the way of helping poor brides to marry. A similar provision has been made by the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart, in his charitable Institution, known as the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Parsee Benevolent Institution, and even now, about 65 years after his death, poor brides are helped to be married. The Parsee Punchayet funds also have a similar provision. At present, about Rs. 75 are given to help the marriage of every poor bride. When parents lose by death a young son of marriageable age, they take consolation in this special kind of charity. This custom can be compared to that of the "funeral doles" of the ancient Christians, wherein pious christians provided for the marriage of poor unmarried girls. Among the an-

1 *Ibid.* p. 196

cient Greeks, the State thought its duty to provide dowries for the marriage of the poor maidens of the country. Among the Romans, the State encouraged marriages. A Tax known as *uxorium* was imposed upon the unmarried. Celibacy was an affliction among the ancient Jews. According to Herodotus (I. 136 et seq.), the king in ancient Iran helped marriages.

(e) Mr. Bennett speaks of "contribution towards the expenses of the wedding feast"¹: A lady is mentioned as taking four pence with her as her contribution when she goes to a marriage. These were, what were spoken of in Old Scotland as, "penny weddings." All the people of a village were invited to the marriage festivities and most of them contributed their shares in pennies as presents. Some tradesmen sent in their goods for the marriage feast. For example, the baker sent some bread, the wine-seller some wine, &c. I remember seeing something like these penny presents in my boyhood among the Parsecs. From the morning of the marriage day, there sat in a prominent part of the house or the banqueting hall, a trustworthy friend or relative with pen, ink and paper. The guests went to him and handed over their gifts—some, of mere eight anna pieces—to him. He received these and entered their names with the sums presented in his note-book. The host knew the next day from the note-book what his guests gave him. He considered it a debt of honour to give to the party a similar present or one of a higher value, on the occasion of a marriage at his place. In the case of small towns or villages, the advantage was, that the whole community partook of the marriage festivities. They entered into the enjoyment of the feast, and, at the same time, by paying their humble mites, relieved the burden of the host in the matter of the expenses.

(f) Again, in mediæval England of the 15th Century, many marriages were "marriages of convenience." Mr. Bennett says: "The marriage of convenience was the rule—at least

¹ *Ibid.* p. 196.

among the nobility and landed classes in fifteenth century England, and many readers will be heartily tired of, and repelled by, the insistence on financial and worldly matters shown by both men and women in discussing marriage proposals. The question of marriage was considered on much the same lines as any other business proposition, and generally with little or no reference to the individuals concerned."¹ Mr. Bennett refers to what he calls, "the cold blooded attitude often adopted by parents."² There were cases, of what he calls, "selling to a son's marriage" whereby "it was arranged the boy should marry the merchant's daughter, as soon as they should come of age."³ Thus parents "were ready to traffic in their flesh and blood to serve their own ends"⁴. . . "The maze of negotiation and inquiries surrounded all medieval marriages."⁵

We, in India, are familiar with such marriages of convenience. As in old England, so here among us, marriage is considered to be essential for all who were born. Parents arranged for the marriages of their children from their very early age. These were all marriages of convenience. I was about eleven when I was married; and I remember that my good old aunt (mother's sister) arranged for my marriage. She had married for the second time into another family, and she thought it advisable to bring that family of her adoption into closer connection with mine, and so the marriage was brought about. I know of such marriages of infants. In such cases, the mother held the children in their hands and all the marriage benedictions were recited upon them. It was the pride of a Pater-familias to see that all his grand children were married, or, at least, betrothed and matches arranged in his life time. At times, when his son or daughter had a child with some physical defect, and so, its chances of marriage, when grown up, were less, he took special care to arrange early for the betrothal and marriage of that defective

¹ *Ibid.* p. 27.

² *Ibid.* p. 28.

³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 29.

child with a girl or boy of another son or daughter. The solicitude was to see that every body was married, that no man born may die unmarried. I remember having heard of such marriages, and even of cases of marriage being arranged, when two ladies were with child. It was arranged, that if children of opposite sex were born, both may be united.

Mr. Bennett speaks of several marriages of convenience that they proved happy. He says :—"In spite of the great risks of incompatibility, in very many cases, it proved itself to be a comfortable, satisfactory arrangement. Unromantic though it be, contemporary evidence supports the impression that many of the marriages were quite as successful as those contracted under modern ideas of freedom."¹ That was, and is still the case of many marriages in India also. They are generally happy. There are marriages of love also. But in that case also, the parties asked their parents, relatives or friends to make all possible inquiries.

Womanhood.

Having spoken of Birth and Marriage, the two events of a man's life, wherein women play an important part, before proceeding to the third event of Death, I will speak here on the subject of Womanhood.

As to the position occupied by women in the mediæval England of the 15th century, we read : "No woman was expected to remain long unmarried, and both legislation and local custom assumed marriage as the natural stage for every one of mature age. Since in all feudal society the superiority of men was unquestioned, and popular opinion recognised marriage as inevitable, women very easily came to look on matrimony as part of the scheme of things. Probably, the idea that a woman had a right to remain single, unless she entered the cloister and became the bride of Christ, or to select her own husband was unthinkable at that

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 51-52.

time. So marriages were arranged ¹.....Many farm houses of the present day, hidden away in the country-side, remote from towns, still presume some characteristics of the everyday medieval life.....Bread-making, the preserving of fruits, the preparation of homely country wines, the smoking of hams and bacon and the like, are all household duties carried on from very early times. The dairy, the poultry and the pigs are still as inevitable a part of every farm as they were five hundred years ago."² In some rare cases, "refractory wives were beaten with staves or were struck by their husbands' fists or were used in degrading ways," the conventional idea being "that such was the correct and necessary punishment for women who did not humbly reverence and obey their husbands."³ All these things are occasionally seen in modern India. In both, the medieval England and modern India, "the correct attitude of a wife towards her husband was believed to be to love him and honour him most of earthly things" and "to answer meekly."⁴

Mediæval romances show, "how frequently the good wife and her daughters and maids are spoken of
 Home work. as sitting at their spinning wheels, or at their weaving and allied occupations.... Not only spinning and weaving, but the actual cutting out and making-up of garments and household gear must have occupied much time. The needs of growing families kept most mothers fully engaged in sewing and needlework of all kinds.... Even when the material was not home-woven, it would be bought in a piece and made up at home. Ready-made garments were not usual. The housewife was therefore constantly occupied in making garments of all kinds, and also in keeping up her stock of household linen."⁵ When we read all this, we feel, as if we are reading a picture of our Indian home life, if not exactly of the present time, at least, of the latter half of the last century.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 51.

² *Ibid.* pp. 52-53.

³ *Ibid.* p. 59.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 58.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 53.

We further read: "The really urgent duty for ever confronting all women was the necessity of providing food....No mediæval family could sit down to a single meal without eating and drinking things either made in the house, or prepared for food by the housewife and her servants."¹ We can say exactly the same thing of a well-regulated Parsee family and also of a Hindu family of the present day.

Women, in old England at times, borrowed jewellery from other lady friends, so that they "might look well among the brilliant crowd." A lady said: "I durst not for shame go with my beads among so many fresh gentle women as were here at that time." "The plea of 'Nothing to wear' is an old cry." "Something for her neck" was found necessary for mixing "unabashed among her friends."² I remember having heard in my young age similar cries from many a Parsee lady.

"Instead of the ceremonial visitings and dinings which helped to fill" the leisure hours of the middle and higher class of women, the poor folk "gathered at a favourite ale house, and there tried to forget their trouble in a friendly course."³ This is never seen in a modern Parsee house. Parsee women are never seen in liquor shops. But the parallel of the poor folk of mediæval England can be seen in India in a toddy-shop of a village of Gujarât, where the poor folk of the country meet and drink. Again, we read: "For many women, religion and the services of the Church offered an ever-welcome respite from domestic cares." On the death of her husband, a widow "found more and more solace in her religious duties and occupations."⁴ All this has its reflex in modern India both among the Parsees and the Hindus. The Indian women did not always go personally to their respective churches but attended to all the church-services at home.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 55.

² *Ibid.* p. 67.

³ *Ibid.* p. 68.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 66.

The following is the specimen of the style of a good housewife of mediæval England writing to her husband: "Right worshipful husband, I commend me to you, desiring heartily to hear of your welfare, thanking God of your amending of the great disease that you have had. And I thank you for the letter that you sent me for my troth. My mother and I were nought in heart's ease from the time that we knew of your sickness till we knew truly of your amending. My mother promised another image of wax of the weight of you to our Lady of Walshingham, and she sent four robes (26 sh. 8 d.) to the four orders of Friars at Norwich to pray for you, and I have promised to go on pilgrimage to Walshingham and to St. Leonard's (Priory, Norwich) for you."¹ All this reminds us of the religious offerings and vows of many a devoted wife in India.

Specimen of the style of a wife, writing to her husband.

Female Education.

"The girls of most families (of the position of the Pastons probably received little education except that imparted by their family chaplain." That education had "little of book-learning in it, but rather a very thorough training for the responsibilities of domestic life. Both, while at home and when they were "*put out*," in accordance with prevailing custom, girls learnt to be capable and self reliant. Thus at an early age they were able to shoulder the burdens and responsibility that inevitably came to the mediæval woman with marriage."³

The practice of "*putting out*" referred to above was this "After having kept them (the children) at home, till they arrive at the age of seven or nine years at the utmost, they put them out, both males and females, to hard service in the houses of other people...and few are born who are exempted from this fate, for every one, however rich he may be, sends away his children into the houses of others, whilst he, in return, receives those of strangers into his own. And on enquiring the reason

¹ *Ibid.* p. 60.² *Ibid.* p. 109.³ *Ibid.* p. 110.

for the severity, they answered that they did it in order that their children might learn better manners.”¹ Similar was the case in India, especially in the case of girls, in many a Parsee household, about 50 years ago. The parents thought, that by this practice the children may be moulded (*ujay* i.e., their character for hard work formed). The affection for the children may come in the way of proper education at home. So, they were sent to the house of a friend.²

IV.

Death.

In the case of the Funeral Ceremony I find many striking points of similarity between the views of a mediæval English Christian and a modern Indian Parsee. Mr. Bennett (A) first gives a general view of the funeral ceremonies and then speaks of (B) the funeral feasts and (C) funeral prayers. I will speak on the subject under these three heads.

We read the following for the funeral services in Mediæval England : “The impressive nature of mediæval funerals shows how strong a hold this final ceremony of the Church had on the minds of all. Nor is this surprising. The parish priests did not fail to preach the horrors and pains of eternal torment, and the very walls of their churches were often painted with terrifying scenes of torture in hell..... Hence we can understand and sympathise with the zeal they

(A) General view
of the Funeral
Ceremonies.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 82.

² This practice reminds me of the practice I saw at Burmah, where even now, every boy at the age of 7 or 9 is sent to an adjoining monastery to serve the monks there. The boy has to get up early in the morning, to sweep the ground, fetch water, do all domestic work, and then to go to the streets a-begging for food for the monks of the monastery. A Buddhist father, however rich he may be, thinks it to be his duty to send his boy for a few months, or even for a few weeks or days, to the monastery to do such humiliating work under a *phongy* (a Buddhist monk) and takes it that the few months or days, spent there under discipline and under a kind of humility, lead to form the character of the boy.

showed that their end should be fitting, and that everything which might speed their souls to heaven should be done on the most impressive scale. The Church taught them of the supreme importance of the last moments of life ; and from this, it was a little step to think that the larger the body of people who could be gathered to pray for their souls as they went out, the better for them. The funeral ceremonies were elaborate, and often the occasion of great ceremony.....The greatest care was taken to ensure a large attendance of priests, clerks, and people of all kinds at these services. Often men would leave directions that everyone present at the last rites was to receive a definite reward; which varied according to the status of the several recipients."¹ The canons present at the funeral were given about 20d., vicars 12d. and choristers 3d. each.

The above mediæval view of the life after death and its punishments has a parallel among the Parsee. Mr. Bennett speaks of the view about (a) the horrors and pains of eternal torment, (b) the importance of the last moments of life, and (c) the directions enjoyed by the dying persons from that view. I will speak briefly on these points from a Parsee point of view.

For an account of a Parsee view of the horrors and pains of punishment after death, in the last and preceding centuries, I may point to the Pahlavi book of Virâf-nâmeh, giving the vision of Hell and Heaven as seen by Ar dai Viraf the Iranian Dante.² The refined modern view of the Parsecs has the tendency to estimate the description in the Virâf Namâh at its proper value, but still there are some who hold some view of the above kind. According to Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jamasp, a few years ago, when the Virâf Nâmeh used to be read before them, they, but especially the gentler sex, used to weep."³

1 The Pastons and their England, pp. 196-197.

2 Vide Virâf Nâmeh, p. LV.

3 The weeping was, more out of sympathy than out of consciousness for guilt. Some Persian and Gujarati Versions of the Pahlavi Virâf-nâmeh give miniature paintings of the supposed sufferings of the sinful.

“The supreme importance of the last moments of life” was recognised by the Parsees also. We see that

(b) The Importance of the last moments of life.

recognition, in the custom of holding *akhiāna*¹ at the last moments of death, when a few priests are gathered together to say the Patet or the Prayer of repentance on behalf of the person who is on the point of expiring. They are paid both in kind and in coin. The payment in kind consists of quantities of wheat.”²

Among the Parsees, the important occasions, on which the priests are invited in large numbers, are those

(c) Directions for Funeral Ceremonies

of the funeral procession and of the Uthamnâ on the afternoon of the third day after death, when rich persons invite all the priests of the town, the number of whom in a big city like Bombay, which is their headquarters, varies, at times, from three hundred to four hundred. Some rich persons directed in their wills, that the whole of the priesthood may be so invited. On the occasions of the Uthamnâ, besides presents in money, they are given presents in cloth also. A piece of cloth that would make a Sudreh or the sacred shirt is presented to each priest. Some Parsees, like the Mediæval Christians, even prescribed in their wills the fees to be given to the attendant priests. The fee now given to the priest who form the funeral procession, is, at least, Rs. 2.

Mr. Bennett gives a long account of the funeral feasts in Mediæval England. In his account of one of such

(b) Funeral Feasts.

feasts, he says: “The extent of the preparations may be gauged by noticing that two men were kept busy for three days in flaying the beasts for the feasts, whilst it must, indeed, have ‘snewed mete and drynke’ in the shape of eggs, bread, fish, poultry, &c.”³ In another funeral feast

1 Vide my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees,” pp. 52-53.

2 The gift of grain to priests on occasions of death consists of wheat, while that, on occasions of joy, consists of rice.

3 Pastons, p. 198.

given on "a sumptuous scale." 129 priests and clerks and 68 children and other poor men were present. This funeral feast cost £74-2s-5d., "which sum," says Mr. Bennett, "must be multiplied by 10 at least to compare with modern 1914 values."¹ One of the old papers referring to the funeral feast of a rich family informs us that "bread, cheese, boiled purtenances of lambs and veal, roasted mutton, chicken, calves heads, boiled beef, soup, roasted pork, umbles (i.e., inwards of deer or other animals), &c., formed the courses of the dinner."² In one dinner "the first course for priests, etc., consisted of "Chicken broth, capons, mutton, geese and custard." "The second course" of "the second soup, hotch-potch of meat and herbs, capons, lamb, pork, veal, roasted pigeons, baked rabbits, pheasants, venison, jelly, &c."³

In the matter of Funeral feasts, much is common between the Mediæval Christian and a modern Parsee. I will first speak of what happened in my own family. My father died when I was 17 years of age. My mother then provided a petty sumptuous feast on the *chahârûm* or the fourth day after death. The principal occasions of such funeral feasts among the Parsees are the fourth day after death and the anniversary after death. I remember my mother giving also a funeral feast on the first anniversary of my father's death, when about 200 guests were invited. Special care is taken, that all those relatives and friends, who attended the funeral and accompanied the funeral procession to the Tower, are invited. It must be noted, that among the Parsees, the funeral feasts are never held before the fourth day. It is on the dawn of the third night after death that the soul of the deceased is believed to cross over to the other world. So, it is after that event, that the first feast in his or her honour is held. For the first three days, meat is, as a sign of mourning, prohibited.⁴

¹ *Ibid.* m. 3.

² *Ibid.* p. 199.

³ *Ibid.* p. 199.

⁴ The variety of the courses and dishes referred to by Mr. Bennett reminds me of what I saw, during my travels in China, at the funeral

I know of a number of cases where the deceased have given definite instructions for their funeral feasts not only for the first anniversary but also for subsequent anniversaries. The Trustees of the late Mr. Jejeebhoy Dadabhoy's Charities in Bombay still give a funeral feast on the anniversary of the founder of the family at the Fire temple founded by him at Colaba. On that occasion, all the Parsee priests of Bombay are invited at the Jashan ceremony and given a Rupee each, and then, a dinner is held, where about 30 or 40 priests and about a 100 other guests are entertained at a sumptuous dinner.¹ The late Mr. Maneckji Nowroji Seth, in his will dated 4th April 1748, directed that Nāhniūs² (i.e., priests observing the nān)³ should be fed on his every Baj i.e., the anniversary of his death at a cost of Rs. 51. At present the cost comes to about Rs. 850.

We read in "The Pastons and their England": "Nor had the bereaved finished their labours for the
(C) Funeral Prayers. dead when they had laid them to rest with such elaborate ceremony. In the fifteenth century, the offering of daily or frequent masses for the souls of the departed was very common. People were careful to leave money by will, so that a priest might be hired to say mass for

gathering of a Chinaman at Peking in April 1921. The Chinese are much inclined to a view of resignation or of renunciation. Taking it, that both birth and death are in the hands of God, they do not mourn much on one's death. I went with some hesitation and diffidence to the house of a Chinaman where death had taken place. I stood out for a minute or so looking at all the pompous preparations for the funeral. Finding from my inquiries, that I was inquisitive, they kindly asked me to go in the house. There, I saw several people having a sumptuous dinner. The corpse was lying in a room with all preparations of pomp, and near it were placed numerous dishes of meat, vegetables, sweets and beautiful fruit. I counted about 32 dishes, all arranged in good order on a table before the corpse.

¹ The founder has directed in his will (clause 13), that from 100 to 150 relations and others may be invited to the dinner. He has also directed that as. 8 may be given to each priest and as. 4 to other poor persons.

² Vido my "Religious ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees." p. 166.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 95-101.

their souls daily. Sometimes sufficient money was left to ensure this being done in perpetuity, and the growth of chantiers all over England is an evidence of the prevalence of this custom. When people were not rich enough to endow a charity for ever, they arranged that a mass-priest should be hired to sing for them for a number of years."¹ Some enjoined to engage "an honest secular priest" to sing and pray for a number of years. Some enjoined all those ceremonies and prayers not only for themselves, but also for their parents and other ancestors for a number of years. Women enjoined these for themselves and for their husbands. "Rich people were able to increase their opportunities, as they thought, by making more lavish arrangements. Instead of one mass being said daily, they could pay for several priests to sing for them."² Some ordered these prayers to be said in divers Abbeys. Entire foundations were, at times, instituted for the purpose. "People who were not rich enough to pay for daily services in perpetuity, or for a period of years, were sometimes able to provide for a service to be held a month or a year after the death. Special care was taken to ensure a repetition of the three services of Vesper, Matins and Mass for the dead, on the 30th day after the decease or burial. This day was known as the thirty-day, or the month-mind and was observed with great solemnity.....No doubt a great deal of money was spent on this day, and to some it seemed to be more an occasion for extravagance than for religion."³ There were also some rare instances of persons directing that "no month-mind should be kept for him, and that the money thus saved should be given to the poor."⁴ The service celebrating the anniversary of the death was called the "the year mind or obit."⁵ "The celebration of a daily mass was the chief duty of every parish priest. No doubt, it is true that priests sometimes neglected this duty and only held infrequent services; but, in the households of people having

¹ *Ibid.* p. 200.

² *Ibid.* p. 200-201.

³ *Ibid.* p. 201-202.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 204.

private chapels, in chantries¹, in collegiate churches, and in cathedrals, day by day the sacrifice of the mass was offered. Chanting priests were bound by their office to celebrate daily—in many cases it was their soul duty².....Not only the nobility, but also many of the lesser county families, and even rich members of the rising merchant class, boasted their own chapels. The plans for new country houses began to include provision for a chapel, and it became evidence of breeding for a man to be able to say that his ancestors had possessed such a privilege. It was a privilege, for every such chapel was under the control of the Bishop of the diocese, and generally he looked with suspicion on attempts to obtain his license to allow the sacraments to be celebrated therein. Anyone could build himself a chamber in which he might gather his family for prayer and devotion; but unless he had the Bishop's license, he could not have mass said there.”³

In this account of the Mediæval Christian funeral prayers, we mark the following customs and usages:—

- (a) The offering of daily or frequent masses.
- (b) People left money for the purpose.
- (c) Special chapels and chambers provided by rich people for the ceremonies.
- (d) Engaging of special honest priests for the purpose.
- (e) Besides enjoining such prayers for themselves, they enjoined them for their parents and other ancestors.
- (f) Poor people enjoined these ceremonies for various short periods.
- (g) Special solicitude for the services on the 30th day, known as the 30th day or month-mind.
- (h) The ceremony on the anniversary or the year-mind.

¹ Chantry was “an endowed chapel where one or more priests daily sing or say mass for the souls of donors or such, as they appoint.

² *Ibid.* p. 204.

³ *Ibid.* p. 205.

- (i) Complaints about some priests neglecting their duty.
- (j) Houses of the rich and middle classes, specially provided with places for these ceremonies.
- (k) Such places under the control of a Bishop.

(a) All these customs and usages prevail among the Parsees. Substitute the word "Myazd" for "Maß," and you can say, that all that is said above of the mediæval Christians of the England of the 15th Century is true of the modern Zoroastrians of India. *Bâj rozgâr* is another expression of the word *Myazd*. The former is a later word, and *Myazd*¹ an older word. Some rich Parsees perform the *myazd* or *bâj-rozgâr* ceremonies in honour of the dead daily. Others for the first year or for the first few years. Again, others perform this for the first month or for the first few months, three or six.

1 "The word *Maß*" is derived by some from the word "*Missa*" in the latin phrase, "*Ita missa est*" i.e., "Go, it is dismissed." But this derivation is held by others to be incorrect. The word is connected with "*meat*", which is said to be the initial conception of the word. The word is older than the Christian era, and is said to have been connected with older non-Christian mysteries, from which the ceremony is said to have been incorporated in Christianity. According to some, the non-Christian mysteries, referred to above, were the Elusian mysteries, and so, *Maß* had a Greek origin. The word "*Maß*" is said to be *maz*, which, in Old German, meant 'meat'. In Goth it is *malz*. It is *masa* in Pali and *māsa* मी॒स in Sanskrit, meaning meat. The word "*masa-maz*" is connected by some with this word 'mass,' and is said to be something like *mass Khanar* i.e., flesh eater; hence a generaliling. *Mas-maz* was originally a killing of victims for sacrifice. But the food offered was not meat alone. The latin *Mansa* i.e., a table for food is connected with this word. Persian *mez* for table (as in ميزبان) has a similar connection. The word *Menz* has come to mean a course of food, e.g., "*second menz*" meant "*second course*." The Avesta word *myazda* is supposed to have originated the word "mass" at the time, when the worship of Mithra entered into Europe and when it influenced Christianity. To understand the influence of Mithraism, the early fathers took and borrowed a good deal from Mithraism. They adopted Mithraic holidays, ceremonies of the Mithraic priests, and among it, the *mitre* which was at first used to be the head dress of a Mithraic priest. The word *metro* is said to be a form of *Mithra* or *Mitra*.

(b) Among the Parsees also, people left money by their wills for the *Myazd* or *Bājrozgār* ceremonies to be performed perpetually. We know of cases in which they are still so performed in Fire temples for these last 70 or 75 years or more after the death of the Testators.

(c) Some rich Parsees have built fire temples and have provided that the ceremonies may be performed there in perpetuity.

(d) Some rich Parsees engage separate full time priests to perform the daily *myazd* and other ceremonies at their places every day.

(e) Parsees also enjoin that such ceremonies may be performed not only for their soul but also for those of their parents and their ancestors.

(f) Some provide that these ceremonies may be performed daily for short periods, say 10 or 30 days and then monthly or yearly.

(g) Among the Parsees, the service on the 30th day is known as *si-rouzo* (સિરોઝો) i.e., lit. 30 days. That for the month-day of the date of death is known as *māsisō* (માસીસો) i.e., the month day. It corresponds with the above month-mind of the Christians.

(h) The day proper of the anniversary is spoken of as *varsī* (વર્સી) i.e., the day of the year.

(i) Complaints like those about some mediæval priests to the effect, that they neglected at times the performance of the *mass*, are not rare among the Parsees of to-day.

(j) Rich people generally provided in their own houses, places like the Chancies of the Christians for the performance of the *myazd* ceremonies. Many a house of the old Parsee families, like those of Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, Jejeebhoy Dadabhoy, Patel, Albless, Readymoney etc., have a place built or set apart for the performance of these ceremonies.

The account of the funeral ceremonies if a Mediæval Christian refers to the services of the Vespers and Matins as essential on the occasions of the Mass on the 30th and the anniversary days. These and others are the special services of the different periods of the day. These periods correspond to a certain extent to the five *gâhs* or periods of a Parsee day. During the first three days after death, the recital of prayers by a few priests at the house of the deceased during the different five *gâhs* is considered necessary. The common name for the Christian service, *Placebo*,¹ reminds us of a similar word among the Parsees. The Vespers formed the first service. As the word *Vesper* meant, it was the Evening service. "This was said during the evening before the funeral" The service "was commonly called "Placebo" because it began with the Antiphon². 'Placebo Domino in regione vivorum' i.e., "I will please the Lord in the land of the living." These words remind a Parsee of his oft repeated prayer formula *Khsh naothra Ahurahe Mazdao* i.e. Ahura Mazda be pleased.

The Clergy.

The clergy of a country play a very prominent part in the social life of its people. We find this also in the case of Mediæval Englishers and modern Parsees. I will, at first, speak of the old English clergy on the authority of the above book. I will then speak of the present day clergy of the Parsees of India and point out the points in which they present a parallel. Hindus also will see in the picture some features of their Brahmin clergy. From the standpoint of modern civilization, the clergy of the Parsees as a body are spoken of as illiterate. Many a layman have now and then found faults with their present position. But a glance at the picture of the priesthood of mediæval England shows, that there is not much of a difference between the two.

¹ *Ibid* p. 197.

² Antiphon is an "anthem sung alternately by a choir or congregation divided into two parts" It contains parts serving as a response. It reminds a Parsee of his *Afringân*, wherein also, there is a kind of response. Cf. *Yathâ Ahu Vairyô Zaothâ &c.*

From what I heard in my travels in Europe, I find, that even now, there are some remote and out of the way Christian parts of Europe, for example, Russia, where the clergy are no better than the clergy among the modern Parsees.

The Clergy of Mediæval England "embraced, altogether, seven classes of men ; four in Minor Orders and three in Major Orders."¹ "The Major order consisted of Sub-deacons, Deacons and Priests." "England in the fifteenth century swarmed with masses of men who were in Minor and Major orders. Strictly speaking, no one could claim to be in Minor Orders who had not received the "first tonsure"² at the hands of the Bishop of the diocese ; but, in practice, it seems probable that men who were sufficiently closely connected with the clergy, in one way or another, often assumed or received the title of cleric ; just as nowadays the title of "esquire" which once had a fairly well-defined meaning, is used indiscriminately as a matter of courtesy. Apart from this somewhat uncertain class, we find that doctors, lawyers, scribes, clerks in the King's household and many others were usually in Minor orders, and therefore came under the legal definition of 'cleric' and could claim 'benefit of clergy'."³

The clergy of the Major order were divided into two great classes ; (1) The Regular Clergy and (2) the Secular Clergy. "The Regular Clergy were so called because they lived according to a rule (regular) and were always members of a community and often segregated from the world. The secular clergy spent their lives in the world (in seculo) serving as individuals in parishes in great churches and in other ways."⁴ The regulars included the monks and nuns. The Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Vicars, and Parish priests fell under the class of secular clergy. "Many persons were strongly influenced by

¹ Pastons p. 212.

² Tonsure is the shaving of the head in a circular form at the top ; at the hands of a bishop with the recitals of benedictions and prayers.

³ The Pastons and their England p. 212.

⁴ *Ibid* pp. 212-13.

the desires and even orders of their patrons." ¹.....At times, however, their fidelity to their patron brought them into conflict with their parishioners."²..... In many cases, he (the parish priest) appears to have been as much a local man of business as a priest."³ At times, he "had little time for, or interest, in religion."⁴

"The fifteenth century saw the sons of peasants and other comparatively humble people able to become parish priests; while, at the same time, the average annual value of most livings was not large."⁵ "On the one hand, he (the parish priest) augmented it (his income) from outside sources, and, on the other hand, in many cases, he had to provide other clergy to serve the parish chapels, or to assist at the parish church" This (the 15th) century saw many parish priests playing an important part in the agricultural life of their parish. Some of them, either from a natural instinct for cultivating the soil,—which had probably been the life-work of generations of their ancestors—or because of the possibilities of wealth it offered, were eager agriculturists. One of the most common complaints against the clergy of this period was that their time was occupied in farming and in trading in agricultural produce, to the neglect of their cures. Besides cultivating their own glebe, priests even rented farms to increase their incomes...."⁷ There is little doubt that the churches were much more the centre of countryside life than they are now, if for no other reason than that they were not used exclusively for religious purposes. The principal purpose, however, of both church and priest was to enable the Mass to be celebrated daily, although very many people could attend on Sundays and possibly on the greater feasts."⁸

Disputes, at times, arose between the priests and the parishioners. Such a dispute once arose "concerning the parson's

¹ *Ibid* p. 215.

² *Ibid*.

³ *Ibid* p. 216.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 217.

⁵ *Ibid* p. 218.

⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷ *Ibid* p. 219.

⁸ *Ibid* p. 220.

claim to mortuaries¹ on the death of his parishioners..... The custom of the parish, from time immemorial was to give him the best garment or the second best beast of a deceased person."² When this mortuary was denied he proceeded before the party in the Archdeacon's Court. When notwithstanding the court's decree, the offender refused to give, he was permitted to excommunicate him. Some offenders still continued obdurate and going to church the next Sunday created disturbances, and preventing the saying of the mass, disappointed the parishioners who had to go home without attending the Mass."³ There were many cases of "persons suing and being sued for breach of contract, withholding of money, or refusal to hand on property to the rightful heir."⁴..... Many parish priests, were drawn from humble origins, and their newly won position exposed them to many temptations. They had unwonted opportunities..... and these opportunities were used for evil. The ignorance and superstition which prevented many from being good priests led some to associate with evil companions."⁵ Some priests were arrested for coining." "Poaching and hunting were always weaknesses of the country parson, by means of which he enlivened his vacant hours."..... More serious offences, however, were all too common, and some parsons were ready to take advantage of the unsettled state of the countryside to descend on defenceless people and to rob and oppress them."⁶

As in the case of modern village-priest of Italy, the appearance of a parish priest of mediæval England in a house was not liked. ^{Superstition about the presence of a priest.} ^{ance of a parish priest of mediæval England} ^{in a house was not liked.} ^{is one of his} ^{offices was to perform the funeral ceremonies} for the dead, his presence was superstitiously taken to be something like a death-knell. He lived on the "coining and duns

¹ Mortuary was "a sort of ecclesiastical ~~land~~ a customary right claimed by, and due, to the minister of a parish on the death of a parishioner." Webster.

² *Ibid* p. 221.

³ *Ibid* p. 221.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 221.

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ *Ibid* pp. 221-22.

to be exacted from his parishioners.”¹ “The vigorous collection of all titles, and the mortuary, and the mass-penny often succeeded” in producing a kind of dislike between a parish priest and his parishioners.

The domestic chaplains formed another body of the secular clergy. They were “a common figure in the households of the King, and of the great nobles.”² Latterly, great country families and rising merchant classes also kept chaplains at home. Keeping them obviated the necessity of attending the parish church in inclement weather &c. But the permission of the Bishop of the diocese was required in such cases where people established private chapels in their houses. Such household and domestic chaplains, besides doing the religious duties in the private chapels of their patrons “filled a variety of other offices in their patrons’ house.”³

The Regular clergy who were the second body of clergy, different from the above-mentioned secular Regular Clergy. clergy, included the monks of the monasteries, the friars &c. They exerted “an enormous influence on every day life.” It is said that one-third of the wealth of England at that time was owned by the Church and most of it by the institutions to which the Regular clergy belonged. They increased the difficulties of the parish priest. They often appropriated the living, taking all the income and paying “the smallest possible salary to the priest they put in charge of the cure.” So, in order to make up for that, the parish priest “found it absolutely necessary to screw all he could in the way of tithes, offerings &c., out of the parishioners.”⁴

The Friars who formed one of the Orders of the Regular clergy, unlike the other Regular orders, travelled “from place to place, teaching, helping and begging their bread as they went.” Though pledged to poverty, “by the fifteenth century, they had accumulated enough wealth to construct many magnificent

¹ *Ibid* p. 236.

² *Ibid* p. 226.

³ *Ibid* p.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 237

buildings ”¹..... “The four orders had fallen from their early ideals and....unscrupulous they had often become in their quest for power.”² It is said that some spies moved about disguised as Friars. “Few dresses gave a man such freedom as did the long robe of the Friar.”

The monasteries were devoted to hospitality. They were as it were “the inns of the Middle Ages.” The rich and the poor were admitted. The rich to the special table of the Abbot. Some monasteries purchased and sold estates. One Abbey owned a mill and “the law of the manor required all tenants to grind their corn at the Lord’s (Abbot’s) mill.”³

The Abbots had various devices for having money. One of these was that of “issuing letters of
 Letters of Fra- Fraternity” which enabled the holder “to
 ternity. particiapate in all the divine blessings and favours showered down upon the particular monastery issuing the letter, and upon all their Order, and also to benefit by the prayers and masses said by the monastery.”⁴ Gifts to the monasteries helped the donors to get such “Letters of Fraternity.” The letter said: “When the day of your death shall be made public in our Chapter-house.....your name shall be inserted in our Martyrology, to be repeated in every succeeding year; and your name shall be sent to all monasteries of our religions, and to many other holy places established in England, to be eternally praised in the devout prayers of the holy fathers who dwell therein. And other things for the health of thy devout soul shall be fulfilled, which have been accustomed to be done for the brothers and sisters of our aforesaid chapter; and for all other friends who have gone the way of all flesh in past times.”⁵

The monasteries, at times, acted as Trustees and guardians of other people’s money. Gold and silver vessels were deposited with them for safe custody. Even small sums were deposited and drawn as in modern Banks.

¹ *Ibid* p.

² *Ibid* p. 237.

³ *Ibid* p. 241.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 242.

⁵ *Ibid* p. 243.

I have described, at some length, the life and position of the clergy of mediæval England, because I find, that most of all that is said above is seen in the case of the Clergy of the Parsees, especially in the mofussil Parsee centres, in the latter half of the last century. I give below the various subjects in which a modern Parsee priest presents a parallel to his Christian brother of mediæval England.

1. Many priests who have gone through the initiation of Navarhood, which admits them into the profession, have, after initiation, and some, even after practising for some time in their profession, have taken to other lines of work, like those of clerks and contractors. There are cases of some, following the profession of law, and some have presided on Magisterial and High Court benches. Some are "as much local men of business as priests."

2. The livings of some Fire-temples to which they are attached are poor and they are much under the influence of their patrons—the founders of the temples and their heirs.

3. In the district of Gujarat, there are some priests who also own land and carry on farming and trading. Some even rent farms to increase their income. Their officiating hours are generally in the morning, their afternoons and evenings being generally free for other business.

4. At times, disputes arise between priests and their parishioners on account of their adjoining lands.

5. Disputes have arisen between them and the parishioners on the subject of mortuaries or fees for the performance of funeral ceremonies. In some towns, the Anjumans or the whole congregations have fixed the fees, but in spite of that, disputes now and then arise.

6. Cases of ignorant and superstitious priests now and then come to light.

7. Upto a few years ago, in Bombay, the appearance of priests at their houses by the parishioners in the early morning hours was disliked and taken as a bad omen for the day.

8. Cases of priests are known who officiated as family priests at the houses of their patrons, and, at the same time, did some other kind of work, *e.g.*, providing the daily Bazar.

9. The Parsees have also two classes of Clergy, the Regular and the Secular. The latter are those, who, at times, officiate as clergy and generally attend to their other work.

10. The Parsees also have, like some of the Parish priests of mediæval England, a class of priests known as Panthakis, who have some salaried priests under them. The Panthakis are somewhat like middle-men between the laymen, spoken of as their Behdins, and the regular priests who perform the required ceremonies as asked by the Panthakis. If a parishioner has his own household Panthaki and if he wants certain ceremonies to be performed by other priests, either he has to give some extra fees to his own household Panthaki, or the latter receives some percentage from the other priest or priests.

The Parsees have nothing like "the letters of Fraternity" of the Mediæval Christians. But a practice seems to grow now, which may, one day perhaps come to be something like what was implied in the letters of fraternity. Some Bazams or religious clubs or societies announce, that if one paid Rs. 50 or Rs. 100 or so to its funds, the name of the donor after his death, or of his relative as directed, shall be recited in that Society's or Club's Jashan prayers.

The Parsees have no institutions like the monasteries.¹ So, at present, there are no religious houses which one can use like the modern Banks, as in the case of the mediæval Christian monasteries. But it appears from Firdousi, that the Fire-temples of the ancient Parsees did serve to a great extent the purpose of modern Banks.²

¹ For the reason why they have no monasteries, *vide* my paper on the Phongys of Burma, before the Anthropological Society of Bombay read in 1922. (Vol. XII No. 4 pp. 458-477).

² *Vide* my Gujarati "Iranian Essays" Part I. p. 113.

THE GERM OF THE EVOLUTION THEORY IN OLD IRANIAN LITERATURE.*

I

There are few scientific discoveries or theories of the last century that have created so much stir among the learned world as that of Evolution, which is spoken of as having revolutionized our thoughts of God and His creation. But the stir seems to have settled to a great extent. The stir was due to the first, rather hasty, thought, that it unseats the great Architect of the Universe from his throne of Creation. But a calm unprejudiced consideration of the whole question, in its grand broad aspect, has led many a Divine to say, that a belief in the theory of Evolution does no way unseat the great God from his Divine throne. It assures and insures his seat on His throne, not only outside us but in our heart or hearts. Laying aside the above view of God, it was represented, that it hurt the pride of Man as man, as having been the last and the greatest creation of God. The idea of his low origin, of his having risen from the lowest species of animals was believed to be humiliating to his pride as God's last but not the least creation. But, as Sir Edwin Arnold has said in his East and West, if Evolution points on the one hand, to our low origin in the dim past, it also, on the other hand, points to the high pedestal, to which we have risen, and to a still higher to which we may rise in the equally dim distant future. If you have begun from the lowest step of the ladder, know that you have to rise to the highest.

Mr. E. Clodd, in his "Pioneers of Evolution,"¹ "attempts to tell the story of the origin of the Evolution idea in Ionia, and,

* This paper was read before the Anthropological Section of the tenth Indian Science Congress held at Lucknow in January 1923. (Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XII, No. 8. pp. 1003-1014.

¹ Pioneers of Evolution from Thales to Huxley, with an intermittent Chapter on the causes of the arrest of the movement, by Edward Clodd (1897).

after long arrest, of the revival of that idea in modern times, when its profound and permanent influence on thought in all directions and, therefore, on human relations and conduct, is apparent.”¹ In the matter of the “Origin of the Evolution idea, in Ionia,” he, in his first chapter, begins his story with Thales and ends with Lucretius. Speaking about Thales, he says:—“The Pioncers of Evolution—the first on record to doubt the truth of the theory of special creation, whether as the work of departmental gods or of one Supreme Deity, matters not—lived in Greece six centuries before Christ, not, in the early stages of the Evolution idea, in the Greece, limited, as now, to a rugged peninsula in the south-eastern corner of Europe and to the surrounding islands; but in the Greece which then included Ionia, on the opposite seaboard of Asia Minor.

“From times beyond memory or record, the islands of the Ægean had been the nurseries of culture and adventure. Thence the maritime inhabitants had spread themselves both east and west, feeding the spirit of enquiry, and imbibing influences from older civilisations, notably of Egypt and Chaldæa. But, mix as they might with other peoples, the Greeks never lost their own strongly-marked individuality and, in imparting what they had acquired or discovered to younger peoples, that is, younger in culture, they stamped it with an impress all their own.

“At the later period with which we are dealing, refugees from the Peloponnesus, who would not submit to the Dorian yoke, had been long settled in Ionia. To what extent they had been influenced by contact with their neighbours is a question which, even were it easy to answer, need not occupy us here. Certain it is that trade and travel had widened their intellectual horizon, and although India lay too remote to touch them closely (if that incurious, dreamy East had touched them, it would have taught them nothing), there was Babylonia with her star-watchers, and Egypt with her land-surveyors.”²

¹ *Ibid.* Preface p. IX.

² *Ibid.* pp. 3-4.

Here, Mr. Clodd, referring to the islands of the Ægean, which were then "Nurscries of culture and adventure" and to Ionia on the coast of the Ægean Sea, speaks of them as "feeding the spirit of enquiry, and imbibing influences from older civilizations, notably of Egypt and Chaldæa. He also refers to the people of the Ægean islands and of Ionia as gaining knowledge from Babylonia. He, however, does not refer to ancient Iran, which, though it had an old culture of its own, had sprung into prominence after Chaldæa and Babylonia. However, Irân had come into contact with Babylonia and Chaldæa.

The object of this paper is not to draw any definite inference from the fact of the above contacts, but, to present the old Iranian view of Creation, and to show, that there existed also, in the old literature of Iran, as in that of Greece, some germs of the Evolution theory. But, before doing so, I will specially refer to the view of one of the philosophers between Thales and Lucretius *viz.*, Empedocles, because, what he says, in connection with Love and Strife in relation to the theory of Evolution, reminds us much of the Iranian view of Spenta Mainyu, the bountiful, beneficent, constructive spirit and Angra-Mainu, the maleficent destructive spirit. Mr. Clodd speaks of Empedocles as proceeding from "the theories of the beginning of life" to "the theories of the origin of its various forms."¹ Empedocles was born in 490 B C at Agrigenteum in Sicily, where many Greeks had migrated owing to Persia's westward advance towards Greece. "He conceived 'the four roots of all things' to be Fire, Air, Earth and Water,"² and said, that it was foolish to believe that "what before was not, comes into being, or that aught can perish and be utterly destroyed."³ Therefore, the abovenamed four roots or elements are "eternal and indestructible." They are acted upon by two forces, which are also material, Love and Strife; the one an uniting agent, the other a disrupting agent. From the four roots, thus operated upon, arise, 'the colours and forms' of living things; trees, fruit,

¹ *Ibid.* p. 12.

² *Ibid.* p. 12.

³ *Ibid.* p. 12-13.

both male and female, then fragmentary parts of animals, heads without necks, and 'eyes that strayed up and down in want of a forehead,' which, combined together, produced monstrous forms. There, lacking power to propagate, perished, and were replaced by whole natured but sexless forms which arise from the earth, and which as strife gained the upper hand, became male and female. Herein amidst much fantastic speculation, would appear to be the germ of the modern theory that the unadapted become extinct and that only the adapted survive. Nature kills off her failures to make room for her successes."¹

At the root of all that is said about Evolution, what we find is, that Creation has advanced step by step from a lower form to a higher form, ending in Man. We trace partly the same view in Old Iranian writings of the Parsees. The Iranian view of Creation begins with Ahura Mazda, the omnipresent, omnipotent, the omniscient God. He is all Light, Boundless Light (anaghra raochâo). There are four natural sources of Light, viz, the Moon, the Sun, the Stars and the Boundless light. Ahura Mazda's mansion is in the Boundless Light, the Eternal Light, the Infinite Light, which has no beginning (aghra, Sans. अग्र) and no end. We read in the Bundeshesh; "The Great Ahura Mazda, out of his all-wisdom and goodness, was matchless in Light in the Light which is called Boundless (or Endless). Light is the place and mansion of Ahura Mazda. What is called Religion is the all-wisdom of God and his matchless goodness."² Opposed to the region of Boundless light is the region of Boundless darkness. Between the two, the space of Boundless light and the space of Boundless darkness, there is Emptiness (tahigih)."

The Order of Creation, according to the ancient Parsee books, is the following: 1. Heavens which is the source of all Light, the Light of the Sun, Moon, Stars and of the Ethereal Universe

¹ *Ibid.* p. 13.

² *Vide* my Translation of the Bundeshesh, p. 3

through or by means of which Light passes. 2. Water (Liquid). 3. Earth (Solid). 4. Trees. 5. Animals. 6. Man. We read in the Farvardin Yasht (Yt. XIII, 85-86): Ashao-nām vanghuhish sūrāo spentāo fravashayō yazamaidē...yāmchā ashnō, yāmchā āpo, yāmchā zemo, yāmchā urvarayāo, yāmchā gēush, yāmchā gayēhē.

Translation.—We invoke the Fravashis which are of the good valiant, bounteous, holy....which belong to the Heavens, Water, Earth, Trees, Animals and Man.

We read well-nigh the same order in the Yaçna (Yaçna XIX.)¹ We find the same order in the Bundeshesh, the Iranian Genesis, which says : Oharmazd min dām-i geti fardūm asmān, va dedigar maya, va sedigar zamik, chehārum urvar, panjūm kirā, shashun, anshutā

Translation.—In the Creation of the world, Ahura Mazda (God, created) first the Heavens, second Water, third Land, fourth Trees, fifth Animals, sixth Man (Bundeshesh, Chap. I.)

According to the Pahlavi Bundeshesh,² Ahura Mazda existed from the first, unequalled or matchless (a-hamaki), from infinite, or endless (a-kenārē) times. His space, time and knowledge were eternal. They existed, exist and will exist. He is therefore Omnipotent, Omnipresent Omniscient and Eternal. His place was in Boundless Infinite Light (a-sar roshni) Through omniscience, he brought creation (dām) into existence For a long period, the creation existed in a quiescent or motionless (a-mutār) static (a-ravā) and intangible (a-girāftār) condition. This early state of existence of creation can only be conceived by the mind (minoihā). After that long period, the Creation took a tangible or visible form. With the assumption of that form, there came in Destruction, the idea of Evil. With this, came the second long

¹ *Ibid* p 8.

² *Vide* my Translation of the Bundeshesh, pp. 1-4.

period, wherein there was a conflict between construction and destruction, good and evil. The conflict existed in connection with all the six classes of creation (1) The Sky, (2) Water, (3) Earth, (4) Plants, (5) Animals, represented by the primieval ox (Gavyô-dad) 6 and Man, represented by the very first primieval man represented by Gayomard. This active dynamic period is very much longer than that of the first quiescent or static period. This long active dynamic period is divided into three periods, spoken of as *hazârâs* (millenniums). In the first, there was all construction, very little destruction, all good, very little evil. In the second, there was a mixture of Construction and Destruction, of Good and Evil. Ahura Mazda himself typifies the Construction, the Good; Ahhriman typifies the Destruction, the Evil. This Good and Evil have their parallels in the Love and Strife, the two forces of Empedocles. The one is "the uniting agent, the other a destructive agent" 1. There will come a time—we do not know when—when every thing will be for the good. Good will overpower and suppress all evil. This will occur in the last of the three periods. All this account of the conflict, looking somewhat mysterious and mythical on the surface, gives us a glimpse of "the survival of the fittest."

Now, though Man is spoken of as the last creation of God the Creator, the Bundehesh speaks of the

<p>Man's Origin from a lower form.</p>	<p>Origin of Man as proceeding from a lower form of life—the vegetable. The very first-primitive being is spoken of as Gayomard, who, in the phraseology of the modern scientists, can be called "the progenitor or ancestor of the common stock of human life (<i>gaya</i>). He is not "a spontaneous creation," a something out of nothing. We read: "On the subject of the Nature of Man, it is said in religion, that Gayomard gave forth his seed at the time of death. That seed was purified by the work (lit. motion) of the light of</p>
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1 Pioneers of Evolution by Edward Clodd, p. 13.

the Sun (robashnih-i roshnih-i khurshed). Neryosang¹ guarded its two parts. One part was accepted by Spendârmad.² In the form of *rvûds* (a kind of tree), which grows like a column during 15 years with 15 leaves, there grew up Mashi and Mashyâni³ from Earth, after 40 years, in such a way, that their hands were backward on their shoulders; they were united with each other and were of the same height and of similar appearance. The waists of both were united and they were of a similar stature in such a way, that it was difficult to recognize, which was male and which was female..... The soul (robân) was first created and then the body (tan). Both came into the form of man from the form of a tree (urvar). The breadth (nismo) which spiritually entered into them (mankind) is soul. Now, in that way, there grew up a tree, the fruit or result of which is 10 species or varieties of mans.⁴

Now all this, which we read in the Bundelesh, seems to have a parallel in what we read in Clodd's Pioneers of Evolution as the view of Empedocles. We read there : They i.e., the roots or elements are acted upon by two forces, which are also material, Love and Strife ; the one a uniting agent, the other a disrupting agent. " From the four roots (Fire, Air, Earth, and Water), thus operated upon, arise, ' the colours and forms ' of living things ; trees first, both male and female, then fragmentary parts of animals, heads without necks and ' eyes that strayed up and down in want of a forehead,' which, continued together, produce monstrous forms. This lacking power to propagate, perished and were replaced by ' whole-natured ' but sexless ' forms,' which arose from the earth and which, as Strife gained the upper hand became male and female." In this statement of the view of Empedocles, Clodd sees the germ of Evolution. He says : " Herein, amidst mad fantastic speculation, would appear to be

¹ A messenger of God

² The Yazata or angel presiding over earth.

³ The Iranian Adam and Eve

⁴ Bundelesh Chap. XV 1-5 (S B E. Vol. V. pp. 52-53), *Vide* my Translation of the Bundelesh pp. 59-61.

the germ of the modern theory that the unadapted become extinct and that only the adapted survive. Nature kills off her failures to make room for her successor."¹ We see a similar germ of Evolution in the above Iranian parallel, and it is with some diffidence that I draw here special attention to what is stated of Empedocles that he was the son of one of those Greeks whom "the advance of Persians westward had led to migrations . . . to the south of Italy and Sicily." It is possible that the parallel between the Iranian view as given above and the Greek view as given by Empedocles may be due to the contact of the two nations.

I will quote here, what I have said in my paper on "The Antiquity of Man": "At the bottom of all that appears to be mythological on the surface, the old Iranian belief seems to be this, : Gayomard (lit. mortal life) was the first primitive being or what may be called human 'life principle.' The primitive man or the first man or humanity grew or came into existence at the hand of the Creator from a lower form of creation—the vegetable creation. From this Gayomard, the primitive being or form of existence, there descended various species of, what Dr. West calls, 'human monsters', and the progenitors of modern man. The description shows that all-life creation, whether vegetable, animal or human, had in remote antiquity one life principle or life-stock."²

The view of Dr. Arthur Keith, one of the greatest anthropologists of to-day, is, that Man descended from more than one type. We are reminded of this by what we learn from the Pahlavi Bundeshesh, which says, that Man came down from two progenitors who were however vegetable in substance. Fifteen races of men descended from one progenitor or plant, named *rivās*. The first separate pair which descended

Dr. Arthur
Keith's Theory
and the Pahlavi
Bundeshesh.

¹ Clodd's *Pioneers of Evolution* p. 13

² *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. X, p. 591.
Vide my *Anthropological Papers*, Part II, p. 232.

from this is represented as animal in its nature and it devoured its children. Ten races of Man descended from the other plant and these races were at first monstrous races. I give, below what I have said in my Note on the Antiquity of Man.¹

“Gayomard, the very first primitive being or form of (human) existence was sexless. The first progeny (Mashi Mashyâni) had sexes combined in one body. It was after some long time that a desire for sexual intercourse arose in them. Nine months after cohabitation and conception, a pair—male and female—was born. The parents of the first human stock devoured their children, the male devouring one of the twins and the female the other. Then, at first, there came into existence seven pairs. Their average age was 100 years. From these pairs and their progeny, there descended 15 races (sardeh) which spread into different parts of the earth. In all, from Gayomard, the first primitive being or form of existence, there descended 25 species among which there were many, which were of a kind of human monsters. For example, there were some beings that had ears on their breast (vargush, bargush); some that had eyes on their breasts (varchashm); some that were one-legged (ayok regal-man); some were bat-winged (parr chegun shabâ); some were with tails (dumbimand); and some were with hair on the body (mui pavan tan).”²

Some of these statements, collected from the Pahlavi Bunde-hesh, present parallels to what we saw above as the views or speculations of Empedocles. According to these views, from the four roots or elements (Air, Water, Earth and Fire) arise “heads without necks, and eyes that strayed up and down in want of a forehead, which, continued together, produced monstrous forms. These, lacking power to propagate, perished and were replaced by ‘whole-natured but sexless forms’ which arose from the earth, and which as Strife gained the upper hand,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 590. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part II, p. 231.

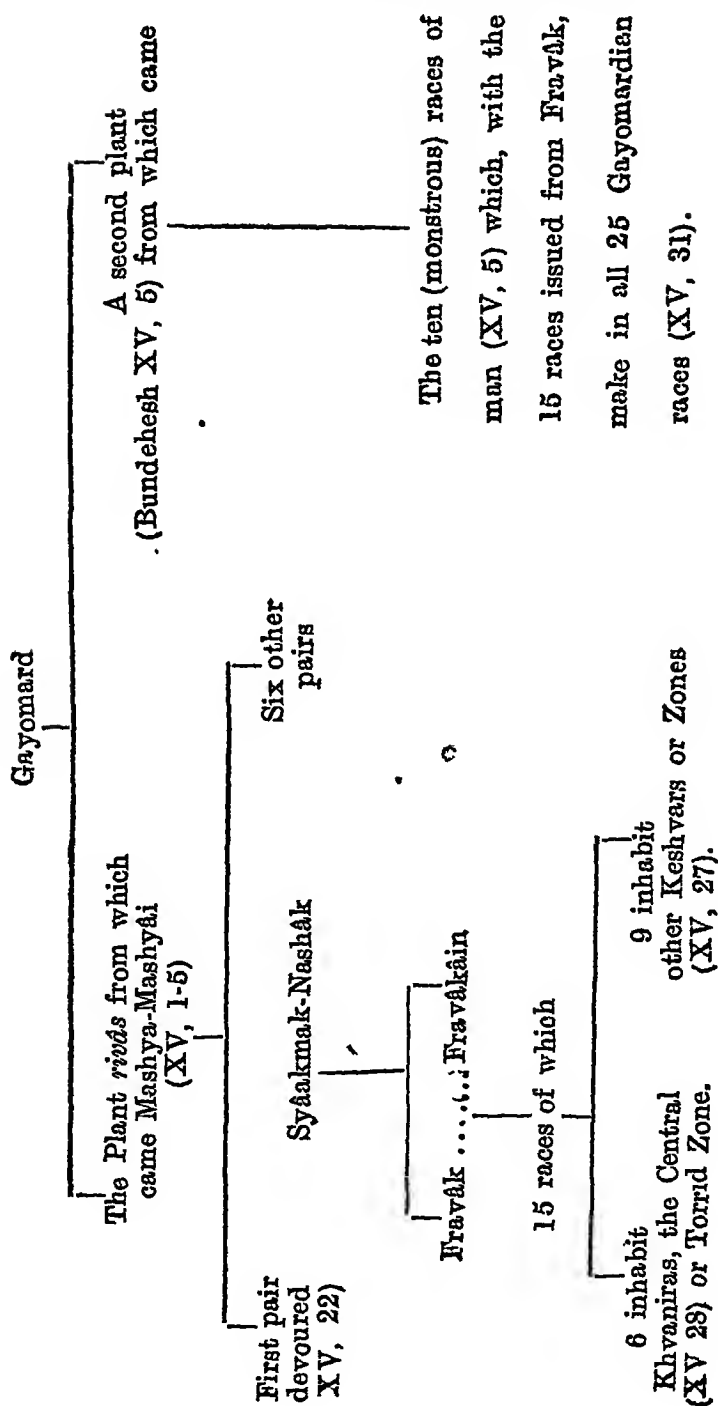
² Bunde-hesh Chapter XV 20,

became male and female.”¹ Thus we find from the Bundeshesh, that at the root of all that appears mythological on the surface, the old Iranian belief pointed to a kind of change and advancement from a lower form of life to a higher.

Dr. Arthur Keith, gives, in his “Antiquity of Man,” a table or geneological tree and refers therein to the common stock, i.e., the progenitor common to Man and to the class of primate. He speaks of the human stem separating from the common stock about 10 lacs of years ago. He starts with a common stem i.e., a stem common to the human stock and the stock of apes, and then, referring to comparatively later times, says: “When we look at the world of men as it exists now, we see that certain races are becoming dominant; others are disappearing. The competition is world-wide and lies between the varieties of the same species of men.” Dr. Keith’s geneological tree and his theory of the descent of Man from more than one type reminds us of what is said, as referred to above, in the Bundeshesh, about mankind descending from two progenitors, both representing to be vegetable in substance. I give below a geneological tree, as prepared, from what is said in the Bundeshesh, and as given by Rev. Dr. Casartelli, in his “La Philosophie religieuse du Mazdeisme sous les Sassanides.”²

¹ Pioneers of Evolution by Ed. Clodd, p. 13.

² p. 125. I give the tree in English as given by Dr. Casartelli’s translator, Dastur Pheroze Jamasp Jamaspasana (1889) in his “Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanides” p. 133.



We said in the beginning, that, at one time, the Evolution theory, when first launched, raised a conflict between Religion and Science. The Iranian view, from the very beginning, admitted the hand of God, the first Cause, the Cause of Causes, behind every thing. Faraday very properly says: "I can see no such conflict, as has been suggested, but I do see that when I have made all my investigations, there is a wondrous field beyond which no human faculty is capable of fathoming."

The Iranian philosophy about the Fravashis which are compared with Plato's Ideas, further suggests the idea of gradual Evolution in Nature. All beings, men, animals, trees have a Fravashi and it is the Fravashi of a man that is the strongest. The unborn, born, the dead all have their Fravashis with them. The birth of a child is no spontaneous creation or generation. It is no new event. Its Fravashi existed from the very beginning of Creation. With the birth of the child it comes into this world. With its death, it will continue somewhere. There is a permanent continuity in Nature.

THE OWL IN FOLKLORE.*

The custom of taking omens from birds is common, well-nigh among all the people of the world, because in the whole of the animal creation, with which man comes into contact, the birds stand first. They are seen everywhere and anywhere, of one species or another. The very Etymology of words for "omen" among different people testifies to the generality of the custom of taking omens from birds. For example, our English word "auspices" for good omens coming from *avis* a bird, testifies to the Old Roman belief of taking omen from birds. The Sanskrit word for omen is *Shakun* (शकुन) which also means a "bird." This Sanskrit word has given to the Parsees their Gujarati word *Sagan* સગન for omen. In the Avesta, though we do not find the word for omen derived from a word for bird, we find, that omens were taken from birds. For example, in the Yasht in praise of Haoma, (Yacna X. 11) we read, that the seeds of the good health-giving sacred plant of Haoma were spread over a number of mountains by auspicious birds (*spenta fradakhshsta méréga lit. birds with good signs*).¹ The modern Persian word for omen, *margwa* (مرغوا), also comes from Persian *margh* (Avesta *méréga*), i.e., bird. The Arabic word for omen is *tair* (طير) and it also means a bird. Thus, all these words for omen in different languages show that omens were taken from birds. For the custom of taking omens from birds in some of the countries of modern Europe, I will refer my readers to what I have said in my paper on "Superstitions common to Europe and India."² For the custom of taking omen from birds among the Parsees,

* This paper was read before the Anthropological Section of the tenth Indian Science Congress held at Lucknow in January 1923. (Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay. Vol. XII. No. 8, pp. 1014-1026.)

¹ The Vedic Soma was similarly brought down from heaven by the bird falcon.

² Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II. No. 3, pp. 161-71. Vide my Anthropological Papers, pt. I, p. 27.

I will refer my readers to my paper on "Omens among the Parsecs."¹

The reason, why, of all animals, man takes omens mostly from birds, is that they are the most migratory, migrating in thousands and tens of thousands at different seasons, from one country to another, hundreds of miles distant,² some marching at the rate of 200 miles per hour. So, their arrival, in one season or another, in one country or another, presages a change of season. The English proverb "One swallow does not make a summer," illustrates this view. Now, a change of season often gladdens the hearts of men, who are tired with the rigour or a kind of monotony of a season. Hence arose, the custom of taking omens from birds.

The object of this paper is to speak particularly about one bird, the owl, which is held to be inauspicious among many people, and to present some folklore about it.

In the Avesta, the owl, which is spoken of as *pesha* Pesr. (*Push* پش), is represented, as having feathers which serve as a kind of amulet.

If one rubs his body with the feathers, he is safe from the curses of his enemies. Both, its feather and its bone, protect the person holding them from enemies. They bring him help and respect from others. He is so well protected by keeping these feathers or bones on his body that no enemy can smite him. On the contrary, he becomes victorious and glorious (Behrâm Yasht. Yt. XIV 35-40). King Kavi Usa (Kai Kâus of the Shâh-nâmeh) and king Thraëtaona (Traitana त्रैतन of the Hindus, Faridun of the Shâh-nâmeh) carried its feathers or bones over their bodies and were victorious. Faridun was victorious by these means over the snake-mouthed Azi-Dahâka or Zohâk. Here, we find,

¹ Ibid, Vol. I, No. 5, pp. 289-95. Vide my Anthropological Papers pt. I, pp. 4-5.

² Vide "The Migration of Birds," by Charles Dixon.

that this bird, instead of being considered as inauspicious, is held to be lucky.

There is another word in the Avesta, which the late Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jamasp took to be for owl. It is *Sijdareh* (Vendidad XIII, 2),¹ which he reads as *gizdreh*² and compares it with Sans. गृध्र Marathi गृध्र Gujarati ગ્રધ્ર Persian گید He says : "In this place it is used for an owl. It is true that according to Natural History and Ornithology as developed in the present day, the owl is included in the species *Strix* or *Strigida*, but in the old times when the Avesta was translated into Pahlavi (250 or 300 B.C.), the owl was not probably classified as a distinct species and was included in the category of *gizdreh* गृध्र vulture or carnivorous bird, because it feeds upon flesh. There can, however be no doubt from the general description given in the texts that the animal alluded to is an owl."³

The Pahlavi rendering of it is⁴ *kûfik* P. کوف (*kûf*) which means "a large owl."⁵ A Persian lexicographer, quoted by Dastur Hoshang,⁶ renders this word (*kûf*) by بوم (*bûm*) which means an owl. The Persian lexicographer says that it is known for its inauspiciousness (be nuhûsat ma'aruf). The lexicographer quotes a poet, Ibn-Yamîn, as differentiating a literate from an illiterate, as the auspicious bird *humâi* (phoenix) from an owl. He says :⁷

شاند بی هنر آنکا بجای اهل هنر. : ندید هیچ تفاوت ز کوف تا نه همای

i.e., he made an unintelligent person sit in the place of the intelligent and made no distinction between an owl and a phoenix.

1 *Vide* his Vendidad, Vol. I (1907), p. 455.

2 *Ibid*, Preface, p. VII.

3 *Ibid*.

4 *Ibid*, p. 445, l. 12.

5 Steingass.

6 His Vendidad, Vol. I. p. VII, n. 1

7 *Ibid*.

The reason, why an owl is held by many people as inauspicious, presaging evil to the house or place where it is seen, is this: It generally seeks wilderness and out-of-the-way places for sitting and resting. When it comes to towns or cities, it generally seeks ruins and deserted places for its rest and abode. It very rarely comes to inhabited or frequented places. Hence, it is always associated with ruins, deserted places and wildernesses. That being the case, when it is seen on rare occasions in inhabited or frequented places, people associate with those places an idea of ruin or mishap in future. So, the bird is always looked at with dislike. Countess Cezaresco thus refers to the cause of the unpopularity of the bird: "Besides, the prejudice against reptiles, modern popular superstition has placed several animals under a ban, and especially the harmless bat and the useful barn-owl. Traditional reasons exist, no doubt, in every case; but stronger than these, are the associations of such creatures with the dark in which the sane man of a certain temperament becomes a partial lunatic; a prey to unreal terrors which the flap of a bat's wing or the screech of an owl is enough to work up to the point of frenzy."¹ This idea of superstitious dislike lurks, not only among the ignorant or the illiterate, but also among some educated people.²

The above fact, *viz.* the bird's fondness for solitary deserted ruined places as its seat or abode, seems to be the real cause of its being taken by mankind as inauspicious. The following Persian story, as given by Mirkhond, in his *Rauzat-ûs Safâ*, presents the old Persian folklore about the owl being held inauspicious from very remote times.

¹ "The place of Animals in Human thought" by Countess Cezaresco, p. 112.

² I remember well an instance of my boyhood, when I was a student of the Elphinstone High School, then located on the Picket Road, where the Government Middle School is now situated. The English Principal of the school saw one day an owl from his office-room sitting upon a part of the school building. He took up a tile from an adjoining roof, hastened to the spot where it sat, and drove it away.

Before the time of Kayômars, there was a kind of disorder in the affairs of the world, and sickness was much prevalent. So, several wise men met and resolved, that they should appoint one man as a ruler who can control all. After asking for divine help (istikhârat استخاره)¹ and deliberating (istishârat استشارة), they resolved to elect one of them as a ruler and their lot of selection fell upon one Kayomars (کیومرث افناد) (قرعه اختیار بنام) (paêmân)² of sovereignty. He had a son, Siâmak by name, who had retired into Mount Demâvand. One day, he started from his place to go to see his son Siâmak in his retirement. On his way thither, his eye fell upon 'an owl' (jaghd جغد) which shouted several times. Kayomars was affected by its voice and he said: "If thy news (i.e., news seemed to be conveyed by your voice), will be associated with good news (khair) and rejoicing (sarûr سرور), I wish that you will be acceptable for your intelligence (مقبول طبع گردی). Otherwise you will always be persecuted and rejected. (مطرود و مهجور)⁴. On going to his destination Kayomars found that his son was killed by a huge stone hurled over him by the Dîvs and Âfrîts. Kayomars deposited the body of his son in a well (چاه), revealed to him by God on the mountain where Siâmak lived, and he kindled a great fire at the mouth of that well (بسر آن چاه آتشی بلند برافروخت). Thus, according

1 Mirkhond's Text of Rauzat-us-Safa. Munshi Naval Keshore's litho graphed edition, Vol. I, p. 149, l. 9.

2 Ibid. This statement shows, that according to tradition, primitive people selected from among themselves a king and that selection was considered to be a kind of divine work, settled by a kind of lot. Cf. the selection of Virâf for a Divine Vision (*Vide* my Asiatic papers, pt. I, p. 1, *et. seq.*)

3 It seems that according to old Iranian tradition, a kind of oath was taken by the person selected as a King.

4 Naval Keshore's Ed. I, p. 149, l. 20.

to tradition, as given by Mirkhond, the owl has since then been condemned as an inauspicious bird.¹

The following story associated the owl with ruins. It is said, that at one time, a Persian King on seeing a pair of owls, asked his Mobad, *i.e.* his priestly minister, as to what the pair was talking. The Mobad said: "They wish and pray, that you, the reigning king, may live long, because they find in your reign many forsaken or deserted villages to wander or live in." It is said, that the king had, by his misrule, caused many a village to be deserted by the people. So, the owls had many deserted villages for their abode. They, therefore, prayed for a long life to such a bad king. This was a taunt, intended or

¹ Further on, in connection with the same story, Mirkhond describes how the cock has come to be considered as a good auspicious bird. He was informed by some, as to where the murderers of his son had hid themselves. He started to go there, and on the way, he happened to see a white cock (Kharus i--safid) followed by a hen (mâkiân). A serpent attacked the hen, and the cock, running after the serpent, defended his hen. Kayomars, pleased with the sight, went to the help of the cock, killed the serpent and threw some grains to the cock. The cock invited the hen by moving its beak to come and eat the grain, and he himself did not eat a single grain till the hen first ate one. Kayomars was pleased with the sight. He was going on an errand to kill the murderers of his son and all that he saw was a good omen for the result of his expedition. The fact, that he, through the instrumentality of the cock, killed the serpent, which was always an enemy of man, pleased him, as all that pointed to a good omen. He proceeded further, and killed the murderers of his son. Thenceforth, he declared his heirs to keep cocks and maintain them. Mirkhond adds: "It is said that no Demon can enter a house in which there is a cock; and, above all, should this bird come to the residence of a demon, and move his tongue to chaunt the praises of the glorious and exalted Creator, that instant the evil spirit takes to flight." (History of the early Kings of Persia, translated from the Original Persian of Mirkhond by David Shea 1832, pp. 56-57). People generally do not like cocks shouting at odd hours. Mirkhond thus explains the matter: "The reason why persons draw an evil omen from the unreasonable crowing of the cock, and at the same time put him to death, is this; that when Kayomars was seized with a fatal illness, at the time of the evening service, this bird crowed aloud; and immediately after, this orthodox monarch passed away to the world of eternity." (Ibid, p. 57.)

unintended, for the king by the Mobad, and, it is said, that the king took this to heart and began to manage his state affairs better, so that, in the end, there remained a few deserted places in his kingdom.¹

It is this idea, prevalent from olden times, of associating
 Firdousi on Owls. owls with ruins, that led Firdousi to say on
 the fall of Persia; "Pardeh-dâr mi-kunad
 bar kasr-i Kaisar ankabut Bumnaobat mizanad bar gunbad-
 Afrasiâb." i.e., the spider is covering the palace of Cæsars
 with his webs and the owl is beating the naobat² on the
 castle dome of Afrasiâb.

It is said, that Sultân Mahmud also uttered these words of
 Firdousi when he first saw the palace of Constantinople.³

The unpopularity of the bird is illustrated by the epithet
 applied to it even by poets. For example,
 Its unpopularity Shakespeare speaks of it as "Thou om-
 displayed by the nious and fearful owl of death" (1 Henry
 language used for VI, IV, 2); "Boding screech owls (2 Hen.
 owls. VI, III, 2.)⁴" "Nothing but Songs of Death." Richard III,
 IV, 4 Obloquy is conferred upon the bird by other poets
 like Spencer, Shelly, etc., also⁵. There is a Gujarati proverb
 which says ઘુપડનું મોત કઢા માટે⁶ i.e., "The death of an
 owl (occurs) at a grave-yard." This proverb indicates
 that the bird always seeks a deserted place like a grave-yard
 and that its presence is associated with ruin and death. From

¹ "Place of Animals in Human Thought" by Countess Cezaresco.

² To strike the drum, etc., at the change of watches (naubat) was the usual custom of the courts of Eastern Kings.

³ J. B. A. S., Vol. V, No. 4, p. xciii.

⁴ Vide Davenport Adam's Concordance to the Plays of Shakespeare (1886), p. 310.

⁵ Vide "Distinguished Animals," by H. Perry Robinson (1910). pp. 215-16.

⁶ Vide the કેહેવત માળા of Mr. J. M. Petit, edited by Mr. J. P. Mistri (1903), Vol. I, p. 221.

the fact that the owl is a nocturnal bird, generally moving about at night, and from the fact, that, during the day, it seeks sequestered deserted places, we have the English word "owl," used as a verb in the sense of "prying about, prowling, carrying on a contraband or unlawful trade."

There is a species of owls, known as Eagle-owls. It is believed in Tibet, that when they scream, people are certain, that there must be robbers in the neighbourhood.¹

Now, as to the question, why the bird has the natural characteristic of remaining lonely and of living in sequestered places, the following story of King Solomon seems to give the reason. All the birds, one day said to Solomon, that "the hated bird owl, dwells secluded in ruins and avoids habitations, nor does he repair to branched trees; and when we ask him the reason for this he says no more to us than *yâ hû yâ hû*. We entreat thee to ask him what is the meaning of this expression." Solomon, on asking the reason from the owl, was told: "He that regards the world as seduced and he that knows that he will be called to account for his actions is sorrowful; so I busied myself with the thought of the "One I fear and the One I dread, and I love no other friend but Him, (Hu) and there is none in my heart except Him (Hu). So, praise be to Him, of whom it is said, that there is none but Him." This story represents the owl to be, as it were a divine or god-worshipping bird. Like human ascetics, it was less of a worldling and more of the divine. This explains, why the ancient Greeks held it to be a wise bird.

¹ S. Hedin's Trans-Himalayas, Vol. II, p. 327. There is a belief about another bird that its shrieks informed people that there was a tiger in the neighbourhood.

It seems, that not only the mere sight of different birds, but their position and posture when seen affect the omens. That it was especially so, in Greece, we learn from Mr. Lawson's "Modern Greek Folklore." Therein,¹ under the heading of "Communion of God and man" (Chap. III), we have an interesting account of the Greek view about dreams, chance words, meetings on the road and auspices. It seems that in classical times, the owl symbolised wisdom. It was included in "the canon of ornithological divination."² The position and posture of birds at the time of the auguration are always important and it was more so in the case of the owls. "The 'brown-owl' perched upon the roof of a house and suggesting by its inert posture that it is waiting in true oriental fashion for an event expected within a few days, forbodes a death in the household; but if it settle there for a few moments only, alert and vigilant, and then fly off elsewhere, it betokens merely the advent and sojourn there of some acquaintance. Another species of owl, our 'tawny owl', I believe, known properly as 'Charon's bird,' is, as the name suggests, a messenger of evil under all circumstances, whether it be heard hooting or be seen sitting in deathlike stillness or flitting past like a ghost in the gathering darkness."³

We saw in the above account of the position and posture of owls when omens were taken from them, that in classical Greece, it was held to be a Bird of Wisdom. It is so held in many countries. The idea of wisdom seems to have been associated with it from the fact of the solemnity of the way in which it sits. Mr. Robinson in the Chapter (XIII) on Owls in his book

¹ Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion. A study in Survivals, by John Cuthbert Lawson, (1910).

² Ibid, p. 309.

³ Ibid, pp. 311-12.

on "Distinguished Animals,"¹ thus speaks of the subject in a humorous way :

"As one sees them in their cages in the Zoological Gardens, the larger owls are persons of such extraordinary solemnity that one almost wonders whether one has not met them at the Club. Properly disposed in an armchair, the large owl, for instance, might, to the casual glance, pass well enough for an elderly member waiting for the Athæneum ; and it is no wonder that in the myths of so many countries the owl has been the bird of wisdom." In its state or posture of repose, it looks wise. But in its posture of wakefulness, it looks "frankly absurd." It is its voice not being "commensurate with the dignity of its appearance" that has made it unpopular. The voice sounds as plaintive.

Countess Cezaresco thus speaks of the cause why the bird was held to be the symbol of wisdom. "It is a most unfortunate thing for an animal if it be the innocent cause of a *frisson*, a feeling of uneasy dread. The little Italian owl, notwithstanding that it too comes out at dusk, has escaped prejudice. This was the owl of Pallas Athene and of an earlier cult. As in the case of the serpent, its wiles to fascinate its prey were the ground-work of its reputation for wisdom. Of this there cannot be, I think, any doubt, though the droll bobs and courtesies which excite an irresistible and fatal curiosity in small birds, have suggested in the mind of the modern man a thing so exceedingly far from wisdom as *civetteria*, which word is derived from *civetta*—"the owl of Minerva" as Italian class-books say. The descent from the goddess of wisdom to the coquette is the cruellest decadence of all."²

1 "Of Distinguished Animals" by H. Perry Robinson, 1910, p 212.

2 "The place of Animals in Human thought" by the Countess Cezaresco, p. 112.

The sight of some luminous owls seems to have added to the view which made the bird a bird of wisdom. As to the luminosity of that species, the cause is not properly ascertained. Some say: "these birds acquired their luminosity by living in, perhaps, a rotten tree, phosphorescent with fungoid matter."¹ Some attribute it to its "dieting on rats killed, with phosphorus."² Some attribute the luminosity to a "fungoid growth . . . parasitic on the feathers of the owl."³ Owing to their luminous appearance these birds have created the belief about "Lantern Men, Lantern Birds," etc.⁴

The following Indian tale known as "The tale of the Owl as a King," which is one of the tales known as the Jâtaka tales,⁵ shows that the owl was taken as a "Bird of Wisdom," worthy to be considered as a ruler or king of birds. But it was rejected for its ugliness.

"Once upon a time, the people who lived in the first cycle of the world gathered together, and took for their king a certain man, handsome, auspicious, commanding, altogether perfect. The quadrupeds also gathered, and chose for king the Lion; and the fish in the ocean chose them a fish called Ananda. Then all the birds in the Himalayas assembled upon a flat rock, crying :

"Among men there is a king, and among the beasts and the fish have one too; but amongst us birds, king there is none. We should not live in anarchy; we too should choose a king. Fix on some one fit to be set in the king's place !

¹ Ibid, p. 213.

² Ibid.

³ Vide the Contemporary Review of July 1908. The article on Luminous Owls and the Will of the Wisp" by Mr. Digby Pigott, p. 64.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Jâtaka Tales, by H. F. Frances and E. J. Thomas (1916), p.213,

“They searched about for such a bird and choose the owl ; Here is the bird we like,’ said they. And a bird made proclamation three times to all that there would be a vote taken on this matter. After patiently hearing this announcement twice, on the third time on rose a Crow, and cried out.

‘ Stay now ! If that is what he looks like when he is being consecrated king, what will he look like when he is angry ? If he only looks at us in anger, we shall be scattered like sesame seeds thrown on a hot plate. I don’t want to make this fellow king ! ’ and enlarging upon this he uttered the first stanza :

The owl is king, you say, o’er all bird-kind :
With your permission, may I speak my mind ?

“The Birds repeated the second, granting him leave to speak
You have our leave, Sir, so it be good and right
For other birds are young, and wise, and bright

“Thus permitted, he repeated the third :
I like not (with all deference be it said),
To have the owl anointed as our Head
Look at his face ! if this good humour be,
What will he do when he looks angrily ?

“Then he flew up into the air, eawing out ‘ I don’t like it ! I don’t like it ! ’ The owl rose and pursued him. Thenceforward those two nursed enmity one towards another. And the birds chose a golden Mallard for their king, and dispersed.”

In the great economy of nature, everything has its use.

The use of Owl in the Economy of Nature. We see that illustrated even in the case of this bird, which has been hated and disliked by man from the time of Kayomars, the very first reigning monarch of Iran, passing through the classical time of Greece and Rome down to our own times, in all parts of the world. Mr. Robinson says : “The proof is overwhelming that the generality of owls confer incalculable

benefit on man by the destruction of rats and mice and voles as well as many species of insects which are 'noxious' from the human point of view."¹

Man generally creates his thoughts about others from what he sees of their characteristics. He associates his thought about a bird, an animal, or brother-man to its or his usual prominent characteristics, nature or work which strikes him most. Take for example the case of priests. Though they officiate on both occasions, joyful or sorrowful, they are more associated with sorrowful occasions like sickness or death because grief has often more marked effects upon one than joy. So, their appearance on some occasions, for example, early in the morning, is taken as an ill-omen by some among several people. While travelling in Europe I especially noticed this in Italy. Similar seems to be the case with the sight of owls. Their usefulness in the economy of Nature is lost sight of and another feature is taken into consideration in taking an omen from its sight.

¹ "Distinguished Animals," p. 221.

THE NORSEMEN STORY OF BALDER THE BEAUTIFUL

AND

THE IRANIAN STORY OF ASFANDYAR THE BRAZEN-BODIED (RUIN-TAN). *

Read on 5th March 1924.

In the December 1923 issue of the *Nineteenth Century*, there is an interesting article (pp. 875-79) from the pen of Mr. G. Clarke Nuttall, on the Mistletoe which "has always been associated with Christmas festivities and decorations" in England, where the halls of the rich as well as the cottages of the poor are said to be decorated with branches of this plant. The article connects this plant with the Norsemen's legend of Balder the Beautiful. This legend reminds me of the Gaz tree which is connected with the Iranian story of Asfandyâr the Brazen-bodied (ruin-tan), as described by Firdousi.

I.

I will, at first, speak of the mistletoe and its connection with the Legend of Balder the Beautiful. The mistletoe, which is a parasite, growing generally upon oaks, is said to be "the most venerated of plants in England, being the sacred plant of the Druids." It is known here as *âkâsh-vel* (آکاشی وِل), i.e., the sky-plant or the heavenly plant. Shakespeare speaks of it as "baleful mistletoe", on account of its being a kind of destructive agent in the story of Balder the Beautiful—the Sun-god. The story runs as follows : "Balder, the son of Odin and Frigga, dreamed that his life was threatened and that he would shortly die. So, Frigga prevailed upon all living things to swear not to harm her son, but she overlooked the insignificant mistletoe growing on the oak at the gate of the Valhalla. One day, the

* Journal of the (Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII No. 1. pp. 30—33

gods were at play, and with the laughter and sport, they began to cast missiles of all sorts at Balder, believing him immune from injury. But Loki, his secret enemy, had discovered the omission of the mistletoe from the oath ; so he, made a shaft from its wood and gave it to Balder's brother, blind Hother to throw. Hother threw boldly, but, to his horror, instead of laughter there was a shriek, and Balder fell." It is from this story that an idea of balefulness has been associated with the mistletoe.

II.

Now, the Iranian story of the death of Asfandyâr, the Brazen-bodied, is described by Firdousi in his Shah-nameh. Before describing it, I will first describe, as an introduction to that story, the story which says, why Asfandyâr was invulnerable like Balder the Beautiful, and why, therefore, he was spoken of as *ruin-tan* (روين تن) or the brazen-bodied. Asfandyâr was the eldest son of Gushtâsp, the king of Persia, who was the patron of the religion of Zoroaster. He was to that religion, what Asoka was to the Buddhist religion and Constantine to the Christian. Zoroaster, when he was in (Gustasp's) Court, performed the liturgical ceremony of Darun (the Sacred Bread), on the 29th day Mârespand of the last month of the year, Asfandârmad, the day known as the Jashan or Festival of Mino Mârespand and gave four substances of the offerings, consecrated in the ritual, to four different persons¹: These four things were : Wine (سي), Flowers² (بوي lit. Fragrance), Milk (شير) and Pomegranate (انار or نار). He gave the consecrated wine to King Gushtâp, and the drinking of it gave him the miraculous

¹ *Vide* the chapter headed :

درون یشدن زراتشت و نمودن چهار برهان دیگر

(i e , The Consecration of the Darun by Zoroaster and showing four other proofs (of his Revelation) in " Le Livre de Zoroastre (zartûsht-Nâma) de Zartûsht-i Bahram ben Pajdu, publié et traduit par Frédéric Rosenberg (1904), Text p. 60, Translation page 58.

² Rosenberg takes this word for "incense," but, I think it refers to fragrant flowers, which are often used and consecrated in the ritual.

power of leaving his body here in this world for three days and taking his soul to the next to see Paradise. He gave the fragrant flowers to Jamasp, the Iranian Daniel, the Primo Minister of the king, who thereby was enabled to prophesise the future. He gave the milk to Peshotan, the Dastur or High-priest, who thereby forgot the thought of death (نیادورد از مرغ یاد). Lastly, he gave to Asfandyâr, a grain of the pomegranate, and the eating of it made him invulnerable. He became brazen-bodied so that no weapon could injure any part of his body.

Now, we come to the story in Firdousi's Shâhnâmah. Asfandyâr, after having defeated, on behalf of his father Gushtâsp, the Turanian army of Arjâsp, asked from his father the throne of Iran in his life-time. Gushtâsp had led his son to expect the throne as his reward, if he defeated Arjâsp. But, when Asfandyâr asked for the well-nigh promised throne, his father tried to put him off, and asked him to go and fight with Rustam, the national hero of Iran, who was believed to be invincible. He said, he would give him the throne if he brought before him Rustam with hands tied. So Asfandyâr went to fight with Rustam who had grown old in the service of his country. Rustam, out of loyal feelings for his lord suzerain, offered, of his own accord, to accompany Asfandyâr to the court of his royal father, in any subordinate position he liked and thus tried to avoid a fight with the royal prince; but Asfandyâr, counting on his belief that his body was invulnerable, insisted upon fighting and taking him to his father's court as a captured person with tied hands. Rustam, on no account, liked to be degraded. In the end, he had to fight with the prince whom he soon found to be invulnerable, and very strong as a young man. He, on the other hand, had lost most of his juvenile strength. In the fight, Rustam and his well-known horse, Rakhsh, both were severely wounded. When Rustam returned to his camp, his father Zal was much grieved to see his son wounded. So, he thought consulting the Simorg, the bird which had nourished him.

birth and had brought him up.¹ He burnt a few feathers upon fire and the bird appeared and healed the wounds of Rustam and his horse. The bird then asked Rustam to take the following course to kill Asfandyâr, whose body, as referred to above, had become invulnerable to weapons, as the result of eating the consecrated pomegranate in the holy communion communicated By Zoroaster.

There grew in the country, bordering on the Chinese Sea, a tree named *gaz* (گز) which grew very dense (مطبر). The tree was watered with poisonous water (آب زهر).² The bird Simorg directed Rustam to the place where the tree grew, and itself, sitting on the top of it, pointed out to him a particular branch and asked him to cut it. It then said that the death of Asfandyâr was destined to occur by means of that piece of wood. The bird gave several directions as to how to straiten the piece and prepare arrows from it. It then added, that the body of Asfandyâr was made weapon-proof by Zoroaster, by the recital of an incantation (*nirang*), whereby his body was proof against a sword or spear.³ It then directed that Rustam should aim the arrows prepared from the wood of this tree directly towards the eyes of Asfandyâr putting himself, as it were, in the position of a worshipper who worshipped the tree standing before it.⁴ Rustam carried out all the instructions of the bird and killed Asfandyâr, by aiming a double arrow of that particular wood to his eyes.

¹ For this story and its somewhat parallel story of the wolf-boy of Agra, *vide* my paper entitled "Recorded instances of Children having been nourished by wolves and birds of prey" in the Journal of the Natural History Society, of 1889.

² *Shahnameh*, Mecan's Calcutta edition, Vol. III, p. 1212. *Vide* Vuller's Text, Vol. III, for this portion of the story, p. 1706.

³ *Vide* the Text of the *Shahnameh* of Kutur Brothers, Vol. VI, p. 226.

⁴ The Tree *gaz* is the Tamarisk, and it appears from what Firdousi says that it was worshipped by people :

از چشم او راست کن بر دو دست
چنان چون بود مردم گز پرست

"The word Druid," referred to in the above Norsemen story, "one form or other of which is used in early Celtic records to designate a class of priests corresponding to the Magi or wise men of the ancient Persians, is of uncertain etymology. The derivation from the Greek *δρῦς* an oak, though as old as the days of the elder Pliny, is probably fanciful" (James Macdonald in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. VII, 9th ed.). The probable derivation of this word is Avesta

𐬨𐬀 Sans. *Ꞥ* Eng. tree (K. E. Kanga, *Avesta-English*

Dictionary, p. 273 n.) They "held the mistletoe in the highest veneration. Groves of oak were their chosen retreats. Whatever grew on that tree was thought to be a gift from heaven, more especially the mistletoe. When thus found the latter was cut with a golden knife." Irrespective of the parallelism of the stories of Balder the Beautiful, and Asfandyâr the Brazen-bodied, we find some parallelism in the fact that both the mistletoe and the *gaz* were objects of worship. Again, the ancient Druids, with whose ritual the mistletoe is connected, are supposed by some to have some connection with ancient Persia. The botanical name of mistletoe is *viscum* and the plant belongs to the natural order of *Loranthacæ*. It is still regarded as a sacred plant and is much used in Christmas in certain mysterious rites instituted by St. Cupid"¹ by a priest clad in a white robe, two white bulls being sacrificed on the spot. The name given it by the Druids signified in their language, 'All Heal' and its virtues were believed to be very great (James Macdonald).

1 Beaton's Dictionary.

A CUSTOM OF PRIVILEGED THEFTS.*

Read on 5th March 1924.

The subject of this paper is suggested to me by an interesting article in the May-June (1923) issue of the *Revue Anthropologique* of Paris. The article is entitled "Une curieuse Coutume à l'âge de la puberté" (A Curious Custom of the Age of puberty) and is from the pen of Dr. J. P. Kleiweg de Zuaan. The custom referred to is that of a kind of, what may be termed, "Privileged theft." The object of this paper is (a) to narrate that custom in brief, as described by the author of the article, and (b) to refer to some cases of privileged theft among some people on our side of India.

I.

According to Dr. Kleiweg, a strange custom of a kind of privileged theft exists among various people, living wide apart at various distances. According to this custom, a boy when he was circumcized on his coming to puberty, or a girl when she first arrived at the state of her monthly course, which was the sign of her arriving at puberty, had a right to steal anything he or she liked, especially food, from the houses of neighbours.

As our author says, it is often stated by ethnologists, that, at times, similar and analogous customs are met with among people, who, as far as is known, have never come into contact, or have come into very little contact, with one another. The analogy or similarity is difficult to be explained. It is often possible that one people has taken such similar customs from another, or, that the customs have arisen independently among different people.

Coming to the custom in question among the primitive people of South Africa, we are told, that a boy, who is being circumcised, is permitted with impunity to commit a theft during the

* Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay vol XIII No. 1, pp. 34-41,

time of the ceremonies which precede the ceremony of Circumcision proper. During this preceding period, boys are permitted to take all sorts of liberty which are prohibited otherwise in ordinary times. If they are caught, they are not punished. Any punishment on such an occasion is considered unjust. Among the Makhâ negroes, the Mkuhwa or priest educator, keeps an eye over the conduct of the young men who are to pass through the ceremony of circumcision which lasts long. He can punish other bad behaviour during the period, but not that of theft or immorality. Similar ideas prevail among certain tribes of the Indian Archipelago, far away from Africa. In some places, the boy is prohibited to speak with any body for some time after circumcision. He cannot speak even to ask for his meals. But he has the liberty to go and take or steal food or steal anything which he likes from anybody else's house. In Somba in Indian Netherlands, the circumcision takes place at the time, when they think of marrying the boy. The boy is taken to a garden, where there is water and where there are banana trees, so that the boy may be at a cool place where the inflammation, following the operation and the wound, may soon be cured and healed. Then he is taken to a rice-field, where he is kept in a hut till he is cured, his food during the period consisting of cold things. During this period, the boy can enter into any cottage and steal poultry or a pig or even a buffalo. The owner cannot object. The only thing he can do is that he may ask his boy, when he comes to puberty and goes through circumcision, to go in his turn to the house of the above boy-culprit and steal similar animals. The animals so stolen are killed by the boy and his party and eaten. The explanation given by the tribesmen for this custom is, that thereby the people of the village may know, that the circumcision of such and such a boy has taken place. The act is understood to serve as a kind of evidence.

Our author refers, on the authority of the "Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits" (Vol. V. 1914), wherein Dr. Seligman describes some customs of the

Torres. According to the custom there prevalent, when people see signs of puberty in a young girl, they inform the mother of the fact. The girl is taken to sea-shore, at some distance from her house, by her paternal aunt who makes a pit in the sand and the girl lies therein. The aunt covers her with wet sand and then constructs a primitive hut where they both sleep. The girl is permitted to get out of the pit only in the evening when she goes to the hut to sleep. Both of them live on certain food, turtle or fish being prohibited. They are not visited by any member of the family. They remain there for two months. At the end of the period, the girl has a bath at the sea. Then she goes to the house of her aunt and takes some food. The family then prepares for a feast for the next day. The girl is then blackened with a piece of carbon from head to foot and receives all kinds of ornaments. She then returns to the house of her parent. Her father and her aunt then exchange present of food. Now, during the time that the girl lives in the hut with her aunt, the latter can enter with impunity, before sun rise, into the hut of anybody and take away anything she likes without payment.

Thus, we see, that in far distant countries like Africa, Tamor, Soemba and New Guiana, during the ceremonies of puberty—circumcision in the case of a boy and menstruation in that of a girl—thefts of things required by the parties are permitted. In the case of the girl, in some cases, it is her parental aunt that commits the theft.

Our author sees at the bottom of this custom, the belief in taboo. The boy and the girl and their relatives being tabooed, they cannot be caught or arrested. They are respected and, so are permitted to do whatever they like. It is the blood of circumcision and menstruation which produces the taboo. Our author asks at the end of his short paper the question : “*Peut-être sera-t-il possible de trouver chez d’autres peuples des coutumes*

analogues ?” i. e. “ Perhaps, is it possible to find analogous customs among other people ?”

Our answer to him is in the affirmative.

II.

We know of some instances of a kind of “ privileged thefts on our side of India. Upto about 50 years ago, there was among the Parsees of Bombay, a custom of “ washing the feet ” of the bridegroom after marriage. The custom is still prevalent among some Parsees of some mofussil villages, and it is also prevalent among some other people of Gujerat. In former times, the Parsees put on Indian shoes (*ṛāṣī*), which were easily removable, and they did not put on stockings. So, after marriage, some near relative from the bride’s party, got the bridegroom to remove a shoe from one of his feet and washed his foot with water. At one time, I thought, that the object of this custom was to wash away all past mistakes and to drive away all evils and misfortunes.¹ But I now think, that this custom symbolized an act of hospitality towards the bridegroom on the part of the bride’s family. Even now, the first act of hospitality, extended to guests coming from some other village or town, is to offer him hot water to wash. Now, in the case of marriage, the custom of washing the feet seems to be a relic of that custom of welcome.

Now during this process, somebody of the brides’ side stealthily took away one of the shoes of the bridegroom. The bridegroom, on not finding it, when he looked for it when the ceremony of washing the feet was finished, had to wait, and it was only on his offering a present in money to the lady who had stolen it that the shoe was returned to him.

I am told² that there is a custom even now prevalent among the Anawls of Gujerat, that some one of the party of the bride-

¹ *Vide* my paper on “The Marriage customs of the Parsees” read before this Society in February and July 1899.

² I am indebted for much of this and the following information to my friend Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai, of Naosari, who is a folk-lorist of an excellent type.

groom steals a small cup (*चुडै*) or any other small vessel from the house of the bride. It is said that among some Jain Banias, the bridegroom is asked to dinner by the bride's parents on the day next after marriage, and then the brother of the bride steals the shoes of the bridegroom. These are returned only when he is paid some money for their return (*छेडाभण*). It is said that though now, owing to some changed and reformed ideas, shoes are not stolen, still payments are made, in some places of Gujerat, by the bridegroom as customary presents and these payments are a relic of the old custom.

Now this kind of privileged theft is spoken of as *prem chori* (*प्रेम चोरी*) i. e., "affectionate theft" or theft out of affection for the person from whom the theft is committed. It is believed to serve as a preventive or a precautionary remedy or antidote for a likely evil, aimed at by some evil-disposed person to the bridegroom. Just as poison (*zeher* *زهر*) has its antidote (*pâv zeher* *پاؤ زهر*), so these malevolent *choris* (*चोरी*) or thefts have, as their antidotes, *prem-chori* i. e., affectionate or benevolent thefts, which are always taken as preventives. A marriage is a very happy occasion in a family or in a man's life. Such happy occasions are believed to draw hostile or evil or jealous eyes of others, who, in order to wreak their vengeance or satiate their hostility or from some such evil motives, may try to do some mischief to the marrying couple by magic. While the above referred to case of the theft of a shoe by a lady is a case of a kind of *bona-fide* privileged theft, an evil-disposed person resorts to unprivileged *mala-fide* thefts to get possession of some thing belonging to, or connected or associated with, the bride or bridegroom, so that, by means of the thing thus stolen, he may get a magician to work some evil influences upon her or him. These malevolent persons are on a look-out for things which they can steal. At times, they are frankly invited as guests by the families of the bride or bridegroom. On such happy occasions, families generally like to make up old quarrels, especially those with near ones. Then, when thus invited, an

evil-disposed person tries to steal something belonging to the bridegroom or the bride. It may be a clothing or a part of a clothing or a few grains of rice thrown over the marriage couple while saying marriage-blessings (*ayāṣirwād*), or the wick of the lamp burning during the marriage ritual, or even a few drops of ghee (clarified butter) burning in the lamp. He or she, generally she, then gives this stolen thing to a so-called necromancer or magician who exerts some magical bad influences through that thing upon the bridegroom or bride. It is to anticipate such mala-fide unprivileged thefts by evil-disposed persons, that some near relatives of the bride or bridegroom, at times, resort to the above kind of bona-fide privileged thefts, e. g. the theft of a shoe.

At times, the mother of the bride or bridegroom herself stealthily lifts up from the ground a few grains of the rice thrown upon the marrying couple by the priests during the recital of the marriage benediction (*āshirwād*) and eats them. or, at times, stealthily puts them into the mouths of the bride and bridegroom to be eaten by them. This then is another case of a *pram-chori* (*प्रेम चोरी*) or affectionate privileged theft. I have myself seen such instances of a few grains of rice being lifted up and eaten by mothers or other near-by relatives and of their being stealthily given to the couple to be eaten during the recital. In the case of the bride and bridegroom, the stealth may be taken to be somewhat significant. Before the marrying couple, having performed the *kusti-padyāb*, a kind of short religious sacred ablution, before going to be married, the *kusti-padyāb* is, according to ordinary custom, vitiated, if the party eats something. However little, during the celebration.

At times, the mother of a bride, after pulling out a small piece of cotton thread out of the *sīri* or the *syāri* of the bride and swallows it, or, at times, she pulls out a small piece of

1 Vide my paper on "Purification ceremonies" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 10.

Similarly, the mother of the bridegroom draws out a thread from the linen coat (*dagli*) or the upper full dress (*jâmâ*) of the bridegroom and swallows it. Formerly, it was done *apparently* stealthily, because the superstition was well-nigh common, but now, in present comparatively reformed times, when such actions would be generally laughed out, some superstitious mothers do so very stealthily. This swallowing by the mothers themselves acts as a preventive antidote against any magical evil influences that may be worked upon. Again, at times, no sooner the marriage ceremony is finished, the relatives of the bride or bridegroom extinguish the lamps burning on the sides of the marrying couple, so that, if any malevolent person then takes away the wick or a portion of the burning ghee, it matters little. The power of being susceptible to magic influence exists only when the marriage lamps are burning. After extinction, they do not possess the power of being the medium of necromancers.

We saw above, that the thefts by evil-disposed persons of something belonging to the marrying couple are unprivileged mala-fide or malicious thefts. Other cases of such thefts are known. An evil-disposed woman is said to go to a neighbouring house, where a girl has just delivered and steals something belonging to the girl, even her placenta (मूत्र), and carrying it home, asks some so-called necromancer to work magic through it on the girl. At times, the people of the house, who, at times, are themselves familiar with such practices, are very cautious, and take very great care to see that nothing is taken away from the room of the girl who has delivered. They keep a sharp eye over neighbouring visitors. But, it is said, that in such cases of over-caution the evil-disposed visitor carries away some parts of the placenta or the blood that may have fallen on the ground by stealthily rubbing her shoes or slippers over these. On going home she removes these little attached stolen portions and gives them to a necromancer to work his spell.

Such practices of unprivileged mala-fide thefts are resorted to by women who are sterile or by their mothers. It is believed that by virtue of the things so stolen they can get the magic-practitioners to transfer the fertility of motherhood from the newly delivered girl to the sterile women themselves. At times, even the embraces of evil-disposed women have stealthy evil influences. Such women are said to go to the houses of girls that are *enceinte* and, under the garb of friendship, embrace them and even such stealthy embraces are believed to have harmful effects.

A NOTE ON AN EGYPTIAN DEED OF CONVEYANCE ABOUT 2,330 YEARS OLD.*

(Read on 30th April 1924.)

The object of this brief Note is to draw the attention of members, especially law members, to the copy of an old Egyptian Conveyance Deed, given by Dr. Nathaniel Reich in the March 1923 issue (pp. 22-25) of the Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania, in a paper, entitled "A Notary of Ancient Thebes." The document is one of the collection of Demotic papyri recently discovered at Thebes, the ancient capital of Egypt, and refers to the sale of a house by a locksmith, named Pani, to a soldier, named Paret. It was drawn up by a notary or a solicitor named Peteshe. The Conveyance Deed shows, that, to great extent, the form of modern conveyances has come down to us from olden times. We find the following particulars in a consecutive order :

1. The date. The year then used, was that of the reigning monarch, who, in this case, was Pharaoh Alexander, the only son, about 12 years of age, of Alexander the Great.
2. The names of the vendor and the purchaser. In addition to the names of their fathers, the names of the mothers were also given, the form being something like "A, the son of B, his mother being C."
3. The situation of the house, with a short description. whether built of stone and roofed.
4. Boundaries, beginning with South, North, West and East. Our present order is East, West, North, and South, but this order seems to be an importation from the West. In one¹ of my papers before the B. B. R. A. S.,

* Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay. Vol. XIII, No. 1. pp. 58-63.

¹ The Paper is entitled "A Firmân of Emperor Jehangir in favour of two Parsees of the Dordi family of Naosari" (Vol. XXV, No. 3, pp. 469, 470, 471, 477).

I have referred to the boundaries of a Parsee property, where the order is : East, West, South, North. In an old Persian Deed, kindly lent to me for inspection by Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai of Naosari, dated 1136 Hijri (1704 A.C.) i.e. about 220 years old, which refers to some land in the street of Sivrapore (سیورام پورہ) in the town (بلدہ) of Matwareh (مطورہ) in the Surat District the order is E. W. S. and North.

5. An undertaking on the part of the vendor to free the purchaser from any claims that may be made on the property by somebody else.
6. Offer of all previous documents referring to the property
7. The Signature of the Notary at the end.
8. Signature of Witnesses.

An important matter which draws our special attention is that of the witnesses. The document was attested by sixteen witnesses, an unusually large number. Dr. Reich does not give us the names of the witnesses, nor their statements. But, from what we know of the witnesses of some of our Indian documents of Mogul times, I think, that the witnesses did not merely attest the signatures of the parties as in our modern documents of sale, but they signed as witnesses also to some of the facts mentioned in the document. I will draw here the attention of members to my above paper in connection with this matter.

We find two important matters, missing in the documents. They are : (a) the area of the property, and (b) the consideration money.

(a) As regards the first, I think that in ancient times, when the populations of cities were not so thick and dense as now, the areas of properties were generally large, and so, the exact area could not be ascertained as mathematically exact.

Its mention, therefore, was not thought absolutely necessary, especially because the surrounding houses, which were named, limited the area. The mention of area in the conveyances of properties are useful nowadays from the point of view of disputes with the neighbours, but not specially from the point of view of the vendors or purchasers. From the vendor's point of view, even in our present conveyances, when areas are mentioned it is specifically added "more or less."

(b) As to the second missing item, *viz.*, the consideration-money, I think, it may be due to the view, that it was a private matter of arrangement between the vendor and the purchaser with which subsequent holders of the property had nothing to do. Again, this omission shows, that perhaps there was no stamp duty or any tax of that kind, which necessitated the declaration of the consideration-money. Even nowadays, attempts of concealing the exact amounts of the consideration-money are, at times, spoken of. So, the mention of this item was not thought necessary.

There are several points, to which Dr. Reich's paper draws our special attention: (1) Firstly, witnesses do not sign on the front part of the roll of the document, but on the back, turning the paper upside down. This reminds us of a somewhat similar thing in some of our Indian documents. Take for example, the Firmans of the Mogul Emperors, wherein the documents are turned upside down for the entry of some important endorsements by the various court officers. This was considered to be an essential legal requisite as we find it from the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abu Fazl.¹

Secondly, the Egyptian document in question resembles our old Indian documents, in this, that it is in the form of a roll. It is 90 inches long and 15 inches broad.

¹ *Vide* my following Papers: (a) *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana* (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, -(b) "A Firman of Emperor Jehangir, &c.," referred to above.

Thirdly, Dr. Reich speaks of the Notary "writing on his papyrus which lay upon his knees." This reminds us of our Indian way of writing. Even now, in many Indian offices, often spoken of as *pehdis* (پہ دی), the Mehtâjis or clerks have no tables and chairs. They bend their feet, so as to protrude their knees, and then, placing the account books on their knees so protruded, they write the accounts.

Fourthly, the date was put at last by the notary in the presence of the parties when they completed the contract.

The question of Date, as far as it relates to the document under consideration, is interesting and important, because, on the day when the document was being completed, there was an interregnum. The practice being that of putting the date of the reigning monarch, the difficulty arose on account of the interregnum which had arisen from the following cause: Alexander the Great died in 323 B. C., and on his death, members of his family were murdered, one after another, the only survivors remaining were his son Alexander, a boy of only 12 years of age at the time of the above document and his mother Roxana, the Roshanak of Firdousi, whom he had married in compliance with the dying wish of the vanquished Persian king Darius.¹ This young prince Alexander was considered the rightful heir of Alexander the Great, and, as such, the Pharaoh of Egypt. But, at last, this Prince also was murdered in 311 B. C., when he was nominally taken to be on the throne for 10 years, during which Ptolemy, the satrap, represented him as a ruler. It was this Ptolemy who added to the glory of Alexandria, where, at its celebrated Museum, University and Library, there mustered brilliant men like Hippocrates the father of Medicine, Herophilus the father of Anatomy and Surgery, and Euclid, the great Mathematician.

ز من پاک تن دختر من بخواد: .: بدارش بآرام در پیشگاه
 کجا مادرش روشنگ نام کرد: .: جهانرا بدو شاد و پدارام کرد
 Vuller's Ed., Vol. III, p 1803. Mohl, Vol. V, p 90 ll 372-3.

It was during this time of a kind of interregnum after the young Prince's murder, that the above document had to be made, and the question seems to have arisen, as to how to put the date, the year of which had to be counted after the years of the reigning monarch. The Notary is said to have solved the difficulty by saying, that the death of the Prince was not officially announced, and that, the regent was then still carrying on some affairs in the name of the Prince. He, therefore, assumed that the prince was still ruling, and so, put, on the document, the year of his reign.

I give below in full as given by Dr. Reich, this interesting document about twenty-two centuries old, as it may interest our lawyers.

“In the month Tybi of the tenth year of Pharaoh Alexander, son of Alexander (March 307 B. C.)

“The locksmith of Thebes, Pani, son of Panum, his mother being Tremubaste.

“Says unto Paret, the soldier of Thebes, the son of Panufi, his mother being Taret, as follows :

“Thou hast caused my heart to agree concerning the price of my house which is built with stones and roofed and which stands in the northern quarter of Thebes at the Western place of the wall.

Its neighbours are : ¹

South : thy house which is built and roofed and thy house which is waste.

North : the house of Peteharpre, son of Puokh, which is built and roofed, and which is occupied by his children, the king's street lying between them.

West : thy house which is built and roofed and thy courtyard which is on his entrance.

¹ From the Museum Journal, p. 23.

East : The rest of the house named above which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits of land, i.e., 250 cubits of area (square cubits), i.e., $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits of and again which I sold to Khenscu, son of Uzehor.

Such are the properties adjacent to the whole house.

I have given it to thee.

Thine it is, thy house it is.

I have no claim on earth against thee in its name.

No man in the land, nor I likewise, shall be able to exercise authority over it except thee from to-day onward.

He that shall come unto thee on account of it in my name or in the name of any man in the land, I will cause him to remove from thee.

And I will purge it for thee from every right, every patent, every claim in the land at any time.

Thine are its patents in every place.

Every writing that has been made concerning it, and every writing that has been made for me concerning it and all writings in the name of which I am entitled to it are thine and the rights conferred thereby. Thine is all that to which I am entitled in its name.

The oath, the proof that shall be demanded of thee in the court of justice, in the name of the right conferred by the above writing which I have made unto thee, to cause me to make it : I will make it without citing any patent nor any claim in the and against thee.

Wrote it Peteshe, son of Yeturoz."

A FEW NOTES FROM AND ON RECENT ANTHROPOLOGICAL LITERATURE.*

(Read on 2nd July 1924.)

What I beg to submit in this paper, is not any original paper on any anthropological subject, but a few Notes, to draw the attention of members to a few subjects of anthropological interest, treated in recent anthropological writings. We have no regular column in our Journal for reviewing or noticing books or articles on anthropological subjects. So, this paper may be taken as a Review or Notice of this kind.

I.—THE CHILDREN OF THE SON. A STUDY IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION.

I beg to draw the attention of members to a recent very interesting and instructive publication by Mr. W. J. Perry, bearing the above title, which was preceded by one, entitled "The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia." These volumes aim to give such a general view of the Early History of Civilization, as may enable one to present that history "in a limited number of general propositions capable of ready verification." In this brief Notice, I like to give a little glimpse into the work of the learned author.

In the vast extent of the country, extending from Egypt, *via* India, Indonesia, Oceania (or Polynesia, the tract of country which included all the Pacific islands), to America, there are remains of civilization of varying degrees, from the civilization of communities of very low culture, to the highest forms. At times, people of such extremes, the highest and the lowest culture, are found side by side. Our author tries to handle the question, *viz.*, "What is the secret of the riddle of this

* Journal of the Anthropological Society, Vol. XIII, No. 2, pp. 113-31.

vast mosaic of this juxtaposition of peoples at the opposite ends of the cultured state?" "What have been the determining factors producing a certain form of culture in one place and at a definite time, in one place rather than another, and at one time rather than another?" The author has adopted in his investigations the method of what is called "Culture-sequences." After applying this method, he formulates "a working hypothesis, *viz.*, that the earliest peoples in all parts who had advanced beyond the food-gathering stage, were so similar in culture that they can be grouped together as constituting the *Archaic Civilization*."

The four cultured elements of Archaic Civilization are :
1. The use of stone for purposes of construction. 2. Irrigation. 3. Pottery-making and Sculpture, especially the carving of stone images. 4. Metal-working, especially for the precious metals.

Agriculture, the craft of food-producing, is the first step of advancement in civilization. At first Man only *gathers* food. Then he *produces* food. This is a step in advance. In India, there are still some pre-Dravidian jungle tribes which do not *produce* food but merely *gather* it.

The craft of agriculture was the first and important step towards rise in civilization. Food-gathering people were dependent on Nature for their sustenance. With the introduction of agriculture, they began to be a little independent from Nature and dependent upon themselves. Thus, with their power to increase production of food, they increased their population also.

Now, the question is, "How did early Man, who was for thousands of years merely a food-gatherer, become a food-producer?" How did he acquire the art of agriculture and the act of domesticating animals? Did these arts arise independently in the various countries or did they spread from one centre? The theory of Civilization rests upon an answer to these questions.

Our author's reply is, that there is generally a Movement of Culture and no spontaneous generation of culture. "A people with a fairly high type of civilization, who build large houses, displaying thereby much skill in carpentry, who work iron, who have large boats, and display a high degree of social solidarity, can come into a region peopled only by food-gatherers, and, by contact of varying degrees, produce a whole series of culture, varying from their own level down to that of the food-gatherers." Thus, our author differs from those who wholly base the advancement of civilization upon "certain climatic and racial influences." His view is in favour of the theory, that there is no "general and independent uplift of culture in all parts of the region, but rather the acquisition by communities of elements of culture from other communities that possessed these elements." (p. 9).

Our author, then (Ch. III) handles the subject of Culture-sequence in North America, where "a definite boundary includes the food-producing peoples of the United States. This boundary also marks the limits of pottery-making, house-building and so forth." Then, he proceeds to answer the question: "How did these people come by their agriculture, pottery-making and the rest of their arts and crafts"? The North American agriculture was based upon maize-growing which was practised by all the more advanced tribes. "The whole of the culture of the United States can be regarded as a unit, based on maize-growing, the mode of cultivation of which and the method of the preparation of which for food displayed remarkable skill." (p. 10). When Europeans went there, they generally copied all the old Indian methods of planting, cultivating, husking, drying, etc. Even the names of some of the cooked dishes are still Indian.

Now, this maize-culture of the Indians came from the south, from Mexico. So the art of pottery also. "The higher cultures of Mexico and Peru are, after all, merely the great centres where the fundamental elements of the New World culture were full

blown." Thus, the culture of the food producers of the United States was ultimately founded on the culture of Mexico. Some of the Indian tribes of North America "are living in a region full of remains of a past civilization which obviously differed from theirs. The hundreds of mounds discovered in the country are the relics of that past civilization."

Scholars have come to two conclusions : (1) that "the mound-builders were in some way connected with the Indian tribes ; (2) and that the practices of building mounds came from Mexico".

As to the first conclusion, it is supported by the fact that both, the mound-builders and the (post-Columbian) Indians, had similar burial customs, similar implements, same chief food, viz., the maize, same use of shells and tobacco-pipes, same areas of occupation, similar constructions of mounds.

As to the second conclusion, viz., that Mexico was the original seat of the culture of the mound-builders, it is supported by many observers and scholars and based on several facts. The Mexican art dwindled on intermixture and on encounters with barbarous tribes as it proceeded to the North, but still its remnants can be traced. (a) Mexico's temples and *teocalli* (truncated pyramids = god's houses) assumed the shape of large truncated mounds, still noted as the sites of their sacerdotal and magisterial residence ; for these functions were here, as there, firmly united. (b) "The adoration of the Sun, as the symbol of Divine Intelligence (as first observed in Mexico), was found to have been spread among all the tribes of North America. (c) There were "great resemblances of customs and arts and of traits mentally and physically." "The use of pyramidal mounds for burial and ceremonial purposes extends from Mexico to the Great Lakes which is yet another region of the unity of culture throughout this region."

The mound-builders are intermediate between the advanced Mexico and the Indian tribes. "The culture of the South (Mexico) came first and gave rise to that of the mound-builders, which, in its turn, produced that of the Indians." But the

movement was not in the line of progress but in that of degeneration.

Mexican culture itself was preceded by Maya-civilization, *i e.*, the civilization of the Maya States in South Mexico. The historical sequence of culture in the northern half of America is as follows : (1) Maya civilization of Guatamela. (2) Civilization of Yucatan and Mexico. (3) This civilization sent off-shoots to the region of the United States to which maize was taken from the south. In times, these civilizations degenerated.

The Maya civilization was an advanced civilization in many respects. Its calendar was based upon " exact astronomical facts and intricate mathematical calculations. They had a complex hieroglyphic system. It had led to the construction of great pyramids."

The several cultural elements, required to draw a line of distinction between the civilization of the Maya and of Mexico and the South, and that of the post-Columbian Indians, are the same as those numbered above, *viz.*, 1. The use of stone. 2. Irrigation. 3. Sculpture, and 4. Metal-working.

Then, the question is : " How did the Maya obtain their civilization"? Our author does not reply here at this stage, but we learn from what he has said in the Introduction and from what follows, that he traces the origin ultimately to Egypt. Many civilizations like the above have originated from the Archaic civilization referred to above, and this Archaic civilization can be traced to Egypt. The early Egyptians went out of their country to different regions in the East to look for " various substances, principally those prized for their assumed life-giving properties." With these outings for search of materials, they carried their archaic civilization to different regions.

One important problem in the inquiry of the roots of civilization is, that " the human mind with its desires and aims" is an important factor. The generally accepted doctrine is that, which is known as " Geographical contact", which means that,

Man in various parts of the world is forced to a particular line of action by his geographical surroundings. Our author's view is the other way: "Man's mind is powerful enough to force its desires and aims. Man wills some movement and the geographical position yields." This "dynamic attitude" of the mind of man leads to the development and spread of Archaic civilization. Now what was it that led Man to will or desire a particular action? Our author says, that it was Experience and not mere Speculation. Experience led from discovery to discovery.

Now in these movements of Man, social institutions play a very important part. Our author takes the typical case of Warfare, which arises in "an organised condition of Society." It "is not a fundamental mode of behaviour common to mankind." Thus, warfare, being an "outcome of several conditions," on these social conditions being modified, there is a chance of abolition of warfare.

Coming to the question of Culture-sequence in India, the country has been subject "from time immemorial to diverse cultural influences." As historical records show, there was good trade from about 800 B.C. between India and the West. Our author does not enter into the question of the history of Indian culture, as an examination of that question depends upon that of the contemporary civilization of the West. He simply shows that India's first food-producing civilization was "fundamentally similar to that of the Archaic civilization of Indonasia, Occania and America" and that it rested upon (1) irrigation, (2) stone-working, (3) pottery-making and (4) metal-making. India's prehistoric civilization of Paleolithic and Neolithic age was "characterized by the practice of agriculture by means of terraced irrigation."

The people of this Archaic civilization constructed megalithic monuments, dolmens and stone circles, from the valley of Nerbuda upto Cape Comorin.

As said in the beginning, the object of this Notice is to draw the attention of readers to this instructive book and to give a little

glimpse into the view of the author in the matter of Civilization. So, I will stop here and leave the readers to themselves to have a deeper dip, in the learned work which should be welcomed by many from different points of view.

II.—“DUAL ORGANIZATION IN INDIA.”

There is an interesting article, entitled “Dual Organization in India,” in the January-June 1923 issue of the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (Vol. LIII, pp. 79-91), by Dr. G. S. Ghurye, M.A. (Bom.), Ph. D. (Cantab.), who has been appointed, last month, a Reader in Sociology by our University. A part of the article draws our special attention from the point of view of the interesting paper, on the Konkani language by our colleague, Rao Sahab Dr. Chavan. The author of the article under notice, while speaking of the Dual Organization, wherein “the whole population is divided into two exogamous groups, a man of one group having to marry a woman of the other”, produces “available evidence” to show the former prevalence, in Southern India, of the segmentation of communities into two exogamous sections. Our author attacks the problem in three lines, and, in treating of the first of these three lines, the Terminology of Kinship, speaks of the Konkani language as “the dialect of the Marathi,” and says that, though it is an Aryan language, it shows “both geographically and linguistically” “evident traces of Dravidian culture.”

From what is known of the people of Sanskrit culture, “they seem to have had the patriarchal family as the basic unit of their social organization, the existence of the clan proper being almost doubtful. Mother’s sister, therefore, tended to be sharply distinguished from the mother by a term which showed her exact degree of consanguinity with the mother. But, owing to “the theory of culture contact developed by Dr. Rivers and Prof. G. Elliot Smith,” we “should expect from its geographical position, to find in Marathi and especially in the Konkani dialect

thereof, traces of a transitional stage." So, "some vestiges of the Dravidian system" are found in them. Though not the term for mother's sister, yet terms derived from it have preserved for us important clues." According to the patriarchal tendencies and the later development of the so-called joint-family, the brother of the father will tend to be approximated to the father." The Konkani term for father's brother is Bappelyo and it is plainly connected with Bappa, father.

Coming to the investigation, as to "what vestiges we can find in the Konkani and Marathi systems of the Dravidian system," our author tries to "establish, that the Konkani system is such as would follow from a mixture of the Aryan with the Dravidian system", and then, to strengthen his "contention, that the Dravidian system is fundamentally distinct from the Aryan one." This is expected to go far to substantiate his "theory about the guesses of the features under review of the Dravidian system." With this view, he gives a table of terms of relationship which are valuable from his point of view. As I have proposed to draw attention to Dr. Ghurye's paper from the point of view of Dr. Chavan's paper on the Konkani language, I give below, in a table, terms of only three languages with which we are familiar :—

RELATION.	Konkani.	Marathi.	Gujarati.
A Male, speaking of his Brother's son	Putanyo	Putanyo	Bhātrijo ભાત્રિજો
A Female, speaking of her Brother's son	Bhācho	Bhāchā	Bhātrijo
A Male, speaking of his Sister's son	Bhācho	Bhāchā	Bhāno ભાનો
A Female, speaking of her Sister's son	Putanyo	Bhāchā	Bhāno
A Male, speaking of his Brother's daughter	Dhuvadi	Putani	Bhātriji
A Female, speaking of her Brother's daughter	Bhāchi	Bhāchi	Bhātriji
A Male, speaking of his Sister's daughter	Bhāchi	Bhāchi	Bhāno ભાનો
A Female, speaking of her Sister's daughter	Dhuvadi	Bhāchi	Bhāno

The relations, as given in the above table, "are denoted by terms which mean the son or the daughter of the brother or the sister, as the case may be". They have "no reference to the sex of the speaker."

Now, on comparing the Dravidian terms (Canarese, Telugu and Tamil) of these relations, as given by the author in another table, one finds, that "they depend not only on the parent and the sex of the person referred to, but also on the sex of the speaker." "The terms which a sister uses for her sister's children are used by the brother for his brother's children, which, in their turn, are the same as those used for one's own children either by a male or a female." The peculiarity in the nomenclature in the Dravidian system essentially distinguishes it from the Aryan system and its causes must be sought for in a totally different social organization. This peculiarity follows from a dual organization of society. Our author then considers some of the terms in Konkani referred to above. He says: "The Konkani system, inasmuch as it allows the use of the same terms for the brother's children when the speaker is a brother as those for the sister's children when the speaker is a sister is identical with the Dravidian system.....The terms for son and daughter in Konkani are 'put' and 'dhu' or 'dhuv' respectively. Now the terms 'putanya' and 'dhuvadi' are evidently connected with 'put' and 'dhuv' respectively, meaning 'like the son' and 'like the daughter'.....Thus..the Konkani system differs from the Dravidian in this particular set of terms only slightly. This small difference must have been due to the new Aryan influence. When in a system of kinship-nomenclature we find that a sister approximated her sister's children to her own, and yet we do not find the classification of the mother with her sisters under one term, clearly we have to acknowledge that we have here only the wreck of an organization which in its fully developed form must have classed the mother with the mother's sisters, and thus must have been in all respects identical with the Dravidian organization. The wreckage must have been caused by the Aryan influence, the grouping together of the father with the father's brothers not being particularly repugnant to the Aryan ideas—nay, being actually favoured by the later development of the Aryan family being retained. Therefore the Konkani

system is essentially a mixture of two distinct kinship terminologies based on widely different organizations: In the Marathi terminology of the upper classes as given in the above table, we do not find any evidence of Dravidian influence. Nevertheless, we have some reason to think that the lower classes may still reveal in their kinship-nomenclature many Dravidian influences."

"Having seen reason to think from the evidence of the terms for the father's brother and the mother's sister that dual organization must have formerly prevailed in Dravidian India," our author turns to another term of kinship, *viz.*, that for a step-child. "A step child may be the child of one's wife by the former husband or of one's husband by his former wife. In a matrilineal community with developed family organization, as children belong to their mother's family, one's husband's children by his former wife are necessarily the members of a family different to one's own, while one's wife's children by her former husband belong to the same family as one's wife. In a patrilineal community on the other hand, the children in both the cases belong in general, to the same family, *viz.*, to that of their new father. Even if, therefore, we suppose that common habitation in a family under one roof with concomitant responsibilities may lead one to look more and more upon one's step children, as one's own, and hence to class them together, we cannot explain, if we find it the use of one term for one's own children and step-children, alike in a matrilineal community. Only dual organization can explain such a feature in kinship-terminology; for in that type of social organization all the children of that class, and that generation to which one's own children belong, are classed together with one's own children irrespective of their family connections"

III.—EVIL EYE.

We, in India, know, how extensively prevalent in the country is the belief in an Evil Eye. Our journals have many references

to the question. The belief is prevalent among the people of all creeds here. The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of January to June 1924 (Vol. LIV, 1924), contains an interesting article on the belief in "The Evil Eye in some Greek Villages of the upper Haliakmon valley in West Macedonia," from the pen of Margaret M. Hardie (Mrs. F. W. Hasluck). Here is a brief outline of the paper :

The existence of an Evil Eye being a superstition "abundantly warranted by Scripture, in particular by Solomon," is believed in by the Greeks. Overlooking or casting an evil eye may be voluntary or involuntary. The voluntary evil eye "is produced by spreading all the fingers wide and moving the hand, palm downward, with a quick, slanting gesture towards the person to be cursed ; one or both hands may be used. But this type is in practice little more than a jest."

The following persons generally are capable of involuntarily casting an evil eye. (a) "A new-made mother who suckles her infant from both breasts without an interval between." Her evil eye will do wrong to the first thing on which it falls after the suckling. (b) A boy, who has been weaned, but who, on weeping, is suckled again by the mother, will, when grown up, have an evil eye in later life.

Some take pride in possessing an evil eye which is not supposed to be "due to spite". So, there is no rancour against the person who has it, and who, therefore is simply shunned by the people when he is known to possess it.

Beauty generally attracts an evil eye. Christ was born on a Saturday and so, all born on Saturdays are exempt from being victims to evil eyes. New-made mothers are very susceptible to the influence of evil eyes before their purification, 40 days after delivery. Children are safe before baptism. Amulets are generally used as precautions. A cross or a sacred picture or a piece of incense serves as a preventive. New-made mothers keep under their pillows, as preventives, a red string, incense,

bread, salt, garlic, indigo blue, a nail, gunpowder, a black and white thread, a ring or a pair of silver buckles. Silver is supposed to have great power against magic. All these substances have the power to withstand an evil eye because they possess some strong powers or characteristics. For example, gunpowder has the power to kill others; a nail symbolizes strength; indigo possesses the powerful intensity of blue; garlic has strong smell; salt has strengthening and preserving qualities; red is the colour of Christ's blood; bread is effective because it is used in communion-mass. Bread used in the morning service of a church has greater preventive effect. For children, the following serve as preventives: A cross, a picture of Christ or the Virgin, a clove of garlic in the bonnet, white beads, cheap pearl crosses, scraps of coral, gold coins known as flouris, a vulture's claw, a small pocket of alum (alum having strong properties in dyeing), and horse-shoes. Among these, some acted as preventives on account of their use for religious purposes, and the rest for their strong properties. Beads prevent miscarriage among women.

Even animals are affected by an evil eye. So, calves and young donkeys "wear necklaces of bright wool tassels." Adult donkeys are unworthy even of being overlooked. "Horses wear a tuft of badger's hair on the forehead." Horses also carry bells, the ringing of which repel evil eyes directed towards them.

Spoken words also act as preventives. When a lady was admired by another, a third, in order to avoid the evil result of the admiration, cried out "garlic." When a woman admired another, a third, turning up the hem of the dress of the woman so admired, exclaimed "Her skirt has a lining", meaning, that she had defects. The words drawing attention to some defects acted as preventives. Compare with these, the words used among us when one admires another "તમારા પગ ભણી જુવે। .e., Look towards your feet. When one looks at his feet, he looks, at his shoes which are generally soiled. So, looking at a defective thing may avert an evil eye.

Just as our women put a black mark on the face of their children to avoid an evil eye, the Greek women "daub some coffee grounds" on their children's cheeks. At times, children were made to put on unmatched stockings, or when matched, one "was outside in". "The amulets in short, are a species of lightning conductor, just as the power of overlooking is thought popularly to be a kind of electricity which resides in the eye."

At times, amulets are supposed not to be sufficiently preventive, and the remedies to counteract the influence of evil eyes are resorted to. (a) Some persons are believed to have the power of counteracting the magical influence of evil eyes. They utter spells or massage the persons affected. We know that amongst us, here in India, bear's hair is supposed to have some character of amulets, and when bears are brought into villages or towns, people flock round them to have their hairs. The same is the case in Greece. The bear's hair is burnt in Greece and the person affected is made to pass under the fumes. Bears are, at times, made to walk over patients supposed to be affected by an evil eye. Greek mothers like Indian mothers keep such hair in stock for emergent purposes.

Some remedies are, like the amulets, religious, and some, secular. As instances of the first kind, we have the prayers of priests who recite from their service-book, the "Prayers for overlooking." In case of animals, "a cross made of pitch" has a good effect, pitch "being used in both white and black magic because of its supposed presence in the nether world." In the case of horses, one that fell sick and so was unable to rise, was dragged to its feet and was beaten "three times round the church of Our Lady Made Manifest."

We find the parallels of many of the Greek beliefs about an Evil eye, related above, in our country.

The above-mentioned remedy of "beating" reminds me of what I, more than once, saw in my younger days. Young girls, when in some hysterical fits, were thought to have been

possessed by some evil eyes or evil powers. They were beaten with shoes, and the beating was in such a case taken to be a beating, not to the girls themselves, but to the evil eyes or evil powers that possessed them.

As to the above case of the horse being affected by an evil eye, it reminds us of the story, associated latterly with the life of Zoroaster. The story said, that a favourite horse of King Gushtâsp of Persia, the patron king who accepted Zoroaster's religion and promulgated it, once lost his power of walking. Zoroaster by his miraculous prayers restored him to health.¹

Then there are some "curative spells" for the evil eye. Old women know them, but they do not divulge it to others until they are old. At times, it is believed, that the imparting of the spells brings on death. "There is also a general belief that the spell acts for only one person at a time." So, it is not often spoken. It may be written and communicated.

Our author then describes eight spells with their ritual. Some of these remind me of what I had seen in my younger days. I remember having seen some Parsee men and women, performing some curative spells or unusual remedies. Among these, the one, known as the remedy for sun-stroke (𐬥 𐬬𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎), is still practised.

We saw above, that Beauty is, generally, supposed to be attracting an evil eye. It is from this point of view that our Indian mothers generally put a black spot on one of the temples of their children. The Persian Farziât-nâmeh of Dastur Darab Pahlân recommends that one must always remember God, as it were, by way of thanks-giving, when he sees an article of beauty.

¹ Vide "Livre de Zoroaster" (Zarâtusht Nameh) par Frédéric Rosenberg (1904), pp. 51 et seq. Vide S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, Pahl. Texts, Part V, Introduction, pp XXII et seq.

The subject is headed.¹

در باب آنکه هر چیز در چشم خوش آید بنام ایزد باید خواند

i.e., "When a thing appears good or beautiful to your eyes you must speak out 'Ba nâm-i yazad' (i.e. In the name of God)". Then the subject is given as follows :

چو دیگر آنکه دادار جهاندا :. بزرگشت اشو فرمود یکبار
که هر چیزی که خوش آیدت به چشم :. بنام ایزد بگو از روی حرمت
که افزایش مرا و خوی و فر :. کزین بهتر نباشد هیچ دیگر
بنام ایزد نگفتم باشد از کس :. زیان باشد بهی آن چیز را بس
شود کم خوبی و هم آب آن چیز :. نشیند بر سرش آن جرم ناچیز

Translation.—Another thing is this: The Creator, the Keeper of the World, once said to holy Zoroaster, (in case of) whatever things that appear pleasant (or beautiful) to your eyes speak out "Ba nâm-i yazad" (i.e. In the Name of God) by way of reverence. This (recital) will increase its goodness and splendour. Nothing is better than this. If one does not say "Ba nâm-i yazad", then, there will be a good deal of harm to that thing; the goodness and even the handsome appearance of that thing will diminish. Again, there will be on his head the crime of that (thing becoming an) insignificant thing.

IV.—THE MATERIALS FOR THE PRACTICE OF MAGIC.

In his article on "Magic and its Power," in the issue of the Folklore Journal of March 1923, Rev. Cannon J. Roscoe has given an interesting account of how magic was practised among some African tribes among whom he had lived for some time. Much, almost all, of what he says is familiar to some of us, who have observed, heard and read, how magic is worked in our country, even now, and even in our city. The article reminds us, that even at present, when we are supposed to be going ahead

¹ Vide my Farziat-nameh, p. 21.

in modern civilization, we find ourselves, at times, and at places, under circumstances, which tell us that we have many primitive people in our midst. Take for instance, the scares which often occur, here and there, that children are offered as sacrifices at the construction of great new structures. The paraphernalia of various things carried by the wandering *ānkh kâ vaîd*, *kân kâ vaîd* (ਅੰਖਿ ਕਾ ਵੈਦ, ਕਾਨ ਕਾ ਵੈਦ i.e., Physicians of the eye, physicians of the ear) in our city, is much the same as that of the quack-physicians of some African tribes. Besides some common country drugs, they carry horns, bones, hair, shells and such other things to serve as amulets and recipes. These wandering-physicians, who roam with their materials in Bombay, have their regular seasons of visits to Bombay from the Deccan. They mostly come here after the monsoons and return to their villages before the rains. I remember having once seen them at Khandala, moving in large parties like other workmen and camping together.

The following passage of the article reminds us of what I have said at some length in my paper on our Indian custom of husbands and wives not naming their partners: The author says: "Another method of influencing an enemy by magic was to obtain some thing that he had handled or worn, or that was part of himself: a bit of clothing, some grass that had been in his mouth, hair cuttings, nail paring, or even some earth, upon which he had left the print of his foot, would be sufficient" (p. 29).

The author gives two interesting incidents of his own work among the African tribes which show, how mind works upon body, how a mere fear of magic well-nigh brings about death, which is averted by a supposed remedy of counter-magic. An "imprudent prank" of our author, in allowing some of his "baking powder" to be given to a girl had frightened her well-nigh to death. A timely fore-thought of administering sugar with a few drops of the essence of ginger under the name of "counter-magic" saved the girl from death, and our author from difficulty.

V.—MAN'S NASAL INDEX IN RELATION TO CERTAIN CLIMATIC CONDITIONS.

We have an interesting article on the above subject, from the pens of Mr. Arthur Thomson and Mr. L. H. Dudley Buxton, in the January to June 1923 issue of the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institutes of Great Britain and Ireland (Vol. LIII, 1923, pp. 92-122). We know, that the nasal index is ordinarily or generally held to be significant of the ethnic character of a tribe or people.¹ It is held to be "distinctly characteristic of race." But the nasal index, though thus distinctly characteristic of race, is affected by environment, and in that environment, climate is the principal factor. The authors had previously, in 1913, treated the subject in a joint paper, entitled "The correlation of Isotherms with Variations in the Nasal Index" and have now pursued the subject in this paper with further inquiries. Their aim in their first paper was to produce available evidence from America to show "that the greatest nose-width was found in the vicinity of the 'heat-equator', and that, as we passed north and south thereof, there was a gradual narrowing of the nasal-aperture." The results were "dependent on the respiratory function of the nose as distinct from its use as a sense organ." Now, we know, that "the nose is the main respiratory channel by which air is passed to the lungs." Ordinarily, the mouth is not used for the purpose of respiration, except "when the demand for air is exceptionally urgent or when the nasal passage is blocked by secretion." Thus as the respiratory function is affected by climate, climate affects the nasal Index.

The conclusion, that our authors have come to, is, that "a platyrrhine nasal index is associated with a hot moist climate and a leptorrhine nasal index with a cold dry climate, the intermediate conditions being associated with hot dry and cold moist climates."

¹ For the subject of the signification of the Nasal Index in relation to our Indian people, *vide* Sir Herbert Risley's "People of India."

VI.—COLOUR SYMBOLISM.

An article in the *The Indian Antiquary* of April 1923, from the pen of one of our past distinguished ex-Presidents, Sir Richard Temple, on "Colour Symbolism", should draw the attention of members. Sir Richard hopes to rouse, by his article, the enthusiasm of students of anthropology to "collect evidence regarding the colours of the deities of various cults in different lands and to make extracts from religious texts and Folklore literature, referring to various colours and the beliefs connected with them". Indian students of Anthropology have a wide field for work in this direction.

In this connection, I beg to draw attention also to an article in the *Folk-lore* of June 1922 (Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, p. 131) entitled "Colour Symbolism as a line of Anthropological Research." The study of Colour Symbolism in ancient Religious Art Literature is interesting and instructive. In this connection, one has to study the question of the Colour of the Deities of different creeds. Colours are believed to have magical value, e.g., coloured stones. In religious literature, not only Deities and religious things have their symbolic colours, but even ages have their colours. For example, we speak of the Black age (Kali yug कलियुग) or the Golden Age. The Colours, Black, White, Red and Yellow were, in olden times, believed to be favourite colours. Colours were associated with different directions, e.g., Red with the North, Golden with the East and White with the South.

Even now, in this twentieth century, the literatures of many nations connect colours with various ideas. We associate White with Peace, and Red with anarchy and bloodshed. This colour symbolism differs in various creeds.

A BOOK-PROCESSION OF THE TIBETAN LLAMAS, AS SEEN AT DARJEELING.*

Road on 6th August 1924.

The subject of this paper is suggested by the Tibetan Oxylo-
graph, which I produce here for inspection.

Introduction.

It was kindly presented to me about two years ago by my friend Mr. Framroz Merwanji Mehta, M.A., LL.B., Solicitor, of our High Court. I have presented it to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. Nobody in Bombay could then tell me what it was. Fortunately, Prof. Sylvain Levi, who was amongst us at the end of 1922, on its being shown to him, kindly wrote a Note on it at my request. The Note has been published in the original French with my translation in the second number of the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. The object of this paper is to describe a Book-procession, which I had the pleasure of seeing, in connection with a *gumpa* or monastery near Darjeeling, wherein a number of such oxylographs were carried round the village.

In my paper, read before this Society on the 24th June 1914, on "A Devil-driving Procession of the Tibetans, as seen at Darjeeling, and a few thoughts suggested by it,"¹ I have spoken at some length on the subject of the part played by processions in the religious and social life of a people. The State, the Church and the School, the three great institutions of a country or nation, which influence the life of that country or nation, have their own processions. I have seen, and not only seen, but have taken part in

* Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII, No. 2, pp. 146-52.

¹ Journal of the Anthropological Society, of Bombay Vol. X, pp. 227-229. Vide my "Anthropological Papers," Part II, pp. 124-45. Vide the "Jam-e-Jamshed" of 8th July 1912

many processions. But out of all the religious processions I have seen, I remember with pleasure, rather vividly, two. The one was that, seen on 20th November 1889, at Constantinople in connection with a Greek Church there and in honour of St. George. The other is a Tibetan book-procession which forms the subject of this paper and which I saw in connection with a Tibetan *gumpa* near Darjeeling, on the 4th June 1919.

Among many people, pious thoughts are associated with their scriptures. Some attribute, at times, miraculous influences to their possession on certain occasions. We see many a people touching their eyes and foreheads with their sacred books out of reverence for them. Their book of Scriptures, is their book of books and is spoken of as *the* book. (a) For example, the English word for Christian scriptures is Bible, which word comes from *biblia*, a book. They are so named because they are believed to form "the Book, *par excellence*". In Daniel (IX. 2), in the account of the Captivity, the word "books" is meant for the holy books. (b) The word *ketâb* (كِتَاب), i.e., a book, is similarly used among the Mahomedans for Scriptures. For example, the Christians, Jews and the Magusis (Magians, Parsces) are spoken of as the *Ahl-i Ketâb*, i.e., the people who possess scriptures. (c) Then take *granth* (ग्रन्थ), the Sanskrit word for a book. It is used by the Sikhs for their Sacred Scriptures which they call "*granth*" They speak of this *granth* respectfully as *granth saheb*. (d) The Mahrathi speaking people similarly use the word *pothi* (पोथी), which means a book, for their sacred books. They speak of the *pothi* to be read at a gathering and mean thereby, the *kathas* of their Purânas. (e) Nask (نَسک) (Pah. نَسک or نَسک) P. نَسک, the Avesta word for book, is specially applied to the Avesta Scriptures. Again, take the word for Mahomedan scriptures. It is *Qur'an* (قرآن), which from *qarâ* (قراء) reading, at first, simply means reading. Then, it is "Reading *par excellence*,"

the Reading of the Scripture. We thus see that processions and books singly have a kind of significant connection with religion. That being the case, sacred books, when carried in a procession have, as it were, a double signification of efficiency and religious meritoriousness.

Having said a few words about processions and books, I will now describe the Book-procession which

The Tibetan Book-Procession. I had the pleasure of seeing, not only of seeing but of taking part in, on 4th June 1913. My frequent visits to the *gumpa* at Labang and my inquisitiveness about their religious services seemed to have favourably impressed the head Lama and we had become friends. So, I could take the liberty of accompanying the procession and even walk in the front with the head Lama, a position from which I could observe all that happened during the progress of the procession.

The month of June is one, in which, according to the Tibetans, some events connected with the life of Buddha occurred; so, they celebrate the occasion for three days. The third of June 1913 was the day for their Devil-driving procession and the 4th of June was one for the Book-procession. Having driven away the devils and demons from the town on the preceding day, they had, on the 4th of June, the procession of taking their religious books round about in the streets of the village, with a view that the religious books may usher in blessings upon the people during the next year. The Book-procession was longer than the Devil-driving procession of the preceding day. It started from the Gumpâ near Lebang, known as the *gumpâ* of Bhutia-basti, at about 8 a.m., in the morning. The *gumpâ* possessed 110 books.

The Tibetan Buddhist Scriptures are said to be of two classes : 1. The Kahgyur and 2 the Tang-yur. The former are scriptures proper and consist of about 125 volumes. They are said to be the Tibetan translations of some old Sanskrit

Tibetan Scriptures.

books, the translation having been made about 1000 years ago when Buddhism entered into Tibet. The latter, i.e., the Tangyur consist of about 250 volumes and they are generally the commentaries of the scriptures by learned Lamas. According to Dr. Waddell, some of the large volumes weigh as much as 10 to 30 pounds. They are about 2 to 2½ feet in length and about ½ to ¾ feet in breadth. Some of these volumes contain about 400 pages or even more. As we see from the Oxylograph produced here, these books are not like our modern books. They consist of loose leaves or folios. When both the pages or sides of a leaf are read, they place the leaf apart and take up the next leaf. The book, so formed, of loose pages is placed between two boards of wood, which are very tightly fastened. The volumes are covered by pieces of beautifully coloured cloth. We like to keep in our library books well or beautifully bound. They like to cover their books with beautifully ornamented pieces of cloth. There are pigeon-holed shelves on both sides of the idol of Buddha on the altar. It is each of these pigeon holes that contains a volume covered by beautifully coloured pieces of cloth. The Tibetans have two large libraries, the one in the palace of Dalai Lama at Lhasa and the other in the palace of Tashi Lama.

Now, it is these books of the monasteries, that are carried out and taken round the village once a year in a procession. They are preceded by a number of Lamas who play upon a variety of musical instruments, all producing the loudest possible noise. Some of the long blowing instruments are about 8 feet in length. For such a long instrument, there is always a carrier, who, walking in front of the player supports it. The head Lama of the Gumpa was dressed in a majestic looking dress and was walking in a dignified way, next after the band of the above players of music. He was followed by a person, who carried in a tray a small idol of Buddha, seven small cups, a lamp, three moulded forms of flour, burning fragrant alloe wood sticks. All these

The Procession
proper.

were followed by a long row of women who carried the books of the monastery, each woman generally carrying one volume. The Bhutiâ-basti at Darjeeling is situated on the slope of a hill, and the procession was a sight worth-seeing, when watched from an elevated place. The villagers went to each of the women carrying the books and placed their heads under the volumes, thus invoking, as it were, the blessing of the sacred volumes upon himself or herself. They did the same thing with the tray. After doing so, they bowed and paid their homage to these sacred things with both their hands. A man walked near the Lama with a vessel containing some sacred water. The Lama carried in his hand a fan-like bunch of peacock-feathers. He dipped this fan in the sacred water now and then and sprinkled the water on the heads of the villagers, and this was taken to be an act of blessing. Some villagers tried to have some water in the hollows of their hands and drank it. The head Lama sprinkled the water at the entrance and at the end of each street, and at some principal places in the streets. I noticed, that at one time, the sacred water in the kettle-like vessel, having been well-nigh exhausted, the head Lama stopped at a water-pipe on the road and filled up the vessel again. The few remaining drops of the sacred water in the vessel were believed to purify or consecrate all the new water.¹ The procession stopped at the *chaitya* of a deceased pious man and recited a prayer and rested for a few minutes. A person carried in a vessel their favourite drink, *marwâ* which, both in look and effect is like our Indian toddy. It is a very mild intoxicant. The head Lama and others refreshed themselves with it.

In several places, the villagers, gave a holy welcome to the procession, by burning, at the entrance of their street, a fragrant plant which grows in abundance here and which is dried for the purpose. The Lama, occasionally, especially near a

¹ Cf. the practice and belief among the Parsee priests that a drop (g, hî qatreh) of consecrated water or gaomez dropped in a vessel ~~consecrated~~ consecrated the whole.

chaitya, met with on the road, snapped his middle finger with the thumb, a symbolic expression of driving away an evil.¹ This was a signal for the players on musical instruments to blow their instruments and shells with double the ordinary force.

The procession, having gone round all the streets of the village, returned to the monastery and the head Lama took his seat on a chair in an elevated place. The women who carried the books on their shoulders, went round the monastery three times and then entering into the monastery placed the books there. Then there stood by the side of the head Lama two women, one carrying a religious flag in one hand and a dish of flour with a burning incense stick in the other. The other woman had with her, three large vessels full of their favourite *marwa* drink which the Lama had consecrated. This drink was distributed freely among the people in cups by means of a wooden ladle.

There were two things that drew my special attention at this gathering and at other ceremonial gatherings of the Tibetans. (a) The first was their ceremonial saluting in the *gumpas*. It reminded me of masonic salutes. Another thing, that drew my attention, was, that at the end of the ceremonial all threw some flour upon one another as a symbol of mutual congratulation.

(b) Then one man, ascending an elevated place, read the names of all persons, great or small, who had contributed to the expenses of the Book-procession, most of the subscriptions being of 8 annas. This was considered to be a necessary function, which, as it were, gave to the subscribers a kind of religious consolation of having the meritoriousness of their religious act publicly announced. I was told that this practice helped the subscriptions on such occasions.

¹ Cf. the Parace practices of *tachdri* (ཐག་དྲི) made during prayers, when the name of Ahriman or an evil power has to be mentioned.

This practice reminds me of a somewhat similar announcement which I saw in Buddhist Japan, and that in a more substantial way than that of a mere oral announcement. There, in many a religious place which I visited, I saw huge boards of wood with a large number of names written on them. On inquiry, I was told, that these were the names of the subscribers with the sums subscribed by them. A prominent board placed in a prominent place announced large donations, and other boards announced donations as small as our sums of Rs. 5. I was told, that it was this practice that was believed to bring real religious meritoriousness to the subscribers. Unannounced subscriptions were believed to be, as it were, without their religious merit. We have here an illustration of the proverb that ལམ་ལུ་ནི་འགྲུ་ཅི།, i.e., What is written down, could only be read. Something like this was here believed to be true. From this point of view, I was surprised to see, that pious pilgrims, like those to the sacred hill of Chuzenzi near Necco, always took care to write down, or get written down, their names somewhere on the sacred hill, if not on any prominent place, at least on a part of the tea-house, where they rested and ate. It was the writing down of their names at such sacred places, that stamped the pilgrimages with some kind of meritoriousness.

The modern practice or craze of visitors writing down their names on places they visit, sometimes going to the length of a kind of vandalism, seems to be, as it were, a step from a visit of pilgrimage to an ordinary visit. The solicitude or care, with which some visitors write their names in the visitor's books of places visited, seems to be the next step. In some cases, such pilgrims' or visitors' books seem to have unwittingly taken, as it were, a kind of historical form. I have seen in the possession of some of the Pandit guides of the celebrated ruins of the temple of Martand in Cashmere, such pilgrims' or visitors' books, bearing the signature with dates, of many a great man of India, who had visited the ruins of the temple about 75 years ago. For example, you see there the signature of the late Lord Roberts, in three capacities as Lieutenant, General and Commander-in-Chief.

EXORCISM OF SPIRIT IN INDIA ¹

AND

EXORCISM OF PHYSICAL IMPURITY IN PERSIA.

A PARALLEL WITH RESPECT TO THE VARIOUS PARTS OF THE
· BODY TREATED IN THE EXORCISM.

I.

Introduction.—This brief paper is suggested by an interesting paper entitled "Exorcism in Chota Nagpur" by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy in the March 1923 number of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Our author says: "Nothing gives a clear view of the conception of a spirit formed by the man of lower culture than the various processes followed and spells or *mantrams* used by him in exorcising spells in cases of supposed spirit-possession." He then describes "the method of exorcism followed and the mantrams used by the Chota Nagpur spirit-doctor known as a *deonra*, *sokha* or *mali*. In his description, Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy gives a few specimens of songs of invocation to local and other deities recited during the course of Exorcism, which songs seem to serve the purpose of a *mantra*. In one of the songs of the mantra, various parts of the body from head downwards upto the toe of the foot are mentioned in succession, in the order of which the spirit, possessed by the patient passes from the head down to the ground. The object of this brief paper is to describe, on the authority of the Avesta, a part of the process of removing or exorcising the Daruj-i Nasush, i.e. the Demon of Impurity from a person infected by coming into contact with a dead body, wherein

¹ This paper was read before the Anthropological Section of the eleventh Indian Science Congress held at Bangalore in January 1924. (Jour. Anthropol. Soc. of Bombay, Vol XIII, No. 5. pp. 403-9)

the various parts of the body are similarly spoken of, as those down which the Nasu passes from the head downward.

II.

Among the successive processes of exorcism referred to by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, it is the sixth process with which we have to deal to draw our parallel. It is spoken of as "Rasni Utârnâ." In this Hindi phrase, the word *rasni* is said to mean "Exhilaration." It seems to correspond, to a certain extent, to Sanskrit रसः (*rasa*) meaning, 'emotion, sentiment', to Gujarati rac, (રસ), meaning "a passion or sentiment, an affection or emotion of the mind."¹ The word *utârnâ* is Gujarati *utârvûn* (ઉતારવું) to bring down. The Gujarati word ઉતાર (*utâr*) means "exorcism." It is generally used for "a medicine that counterworks another, a charm to overcome."²

Our author gives a song which is sung in chorus by the spirit doctor and his disciples to force the spirit of the body of the patient, generally a woman, and thus sums up its contents : "Thus is the spirit conducted from the hair of the patient to the head, from the head to the forehead, from the forehead to the eyes, from the eyes to the nose, from the nose to the mouth, from the mouth to the teeth, from the teeth to the tongue, from the tongue to the lips, from the lips to the neck, from the neck to the shoulders, from the shoulders to the chest, from the chest to the waist, from the waist to the thigh, from the thigh to the leg, from the leg to the ankles, from the ankles to the heels, from the heels to the soles of the feet, from the soles to the toes, and finally from the toes through the toenails into the earth. Similarly, as if to make sure that no portion of the spirit substance may be left behind in any part of the body, the same process is repeated in another direction, namely, from the head and face to the neck and shoulders,

¹ Mr. Shapurji Edalji's Gujarati and English Dictionary (1863).

² *ibid.*

from the shoulders to the armpits, from the armpits along the elbows and wrist down to the palms of the hand and thence out through the nails into the earth below. Thus is the spirit sent down into the earth underneath which is its proper habitation."

The above-described order, in which the spirit-doctor of Chota Nagpur conducts the spirit, of Exorcism for that had entered into the body of the various parts of the patient, from one part of the body to body. runs as follows :—

1. Hair of the head (kesha).
2. Head (mundā).
3. Forehead (kapâl).
4. Eyes (ankhi).
5. Nose (nâka).
6. Mouth (muha).
7. Teeth (danta).
8. Tongue (jihâ).
9. Lips (lâtoa).
10. Neck (ghetu).
11. Shoulders (gheehâ).
12. Chest (chhâti).
13. Waist (dândâ).
14. Thigh (jangâ).
15. Leg (theonâ).
16. Ankles (ghâtu).
17. Heels (neri).
18. Soles of the feet (târoâ Guj. नेय).
19. Toes (angri).
20. Toe-nails (nao), and thence down into the earth (dharti).

21. Armpits¹.
22. Elbows.
23. Wrist.
24. Palms of the hand.
25. Nails, and thence to the earth below.

III.

Now, we come to the old Iranian process of the exorcism or removal of the Druj-ī Nasush from a person. The Druj-i Nasush of the Avesta of the Iranians is "the evil influence of Decomposition or Destruction (of a dead body). It is considered that to touch the (dead) body then is dangerous for the living, lest they should catch contagion and spread disease.....If somebody.....touches the (dead) body, he has to go through a process of purification or a sacred bath taken under the direction of a priest."² Now, if the flesh of the body of the dead person has been eaten off by a flesh-devouring bird or animal, then there is less chance of any infection from the flesh-less corpse. So, the purification requires no special treatment. It is simple. The person may purify his body with cow's urine and water (*gêush maêsmâna apâcha*). But, if the flesh of the body is not eaten off by birds or animals, then it would decompose and likely to spread some disease. So, the person coming into contact with such a dead body has run the risk of contamination and of being in a position to spread that contamination among others. So, he has to pass through a higher kind of purification, a purification with some necessary religious ritual. The purifier is spoken of as *yaozdâthrya*. He is to ask the person to sit in a less frequented place and give him a bath there. He is to pour water for purification on the head of the contaminated

1 As Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy has not given the text of the song referring to arms &c., I am not in a position to give the hindi equivalents.

2 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees" p.45

person and the water is represented as passing down from the head in a particular way purifying his body in the process. The order of process is as follows : (Vendidad, VIII, 41-72).

1. Vaghdhana	Head.
2. Antarât naemât brvat- byâm ¹	The portion between the two eyebrows, i. e., the forehead.
3. Pascha hô vaghdhanem	Behind the forehead.
4. Paitish-kharéna	Cheeks or the face.
5. Dashinem gaosha	Right ear.
6. Hôim gaosha	Left ear.
7. Dashinem suptîm ²	Right shoulder.
8. Hôyâm suptîm	Left shoulder.
9. Dashinem kashem ³	Right armpit
10. Hôim kashem	Left armpit.
11. Paiti-varem ⁴	Upper breast or chest.
12. Parshti ⁵	Back.
13. Dashina-fshtâna	Right breast or nipple.
14. Hôim-fshtâna ⁶	Left breast.
15. Dashinem peresûm	Right rib.
16. Hôim peresûm ⁷	Left rib.
17. Dashina sraonîm ⁸	Right buttock.
18. Hôyâm sraonîm	Left buttock.

1 Brvat, Sans. bhru, Pers. abru, Eng. Brow, Lat. frons, Fr. front.

2 Supti, Sans. shupti, Pers. suft, Eng. Shoulder.

3 Kash, Sans. कष, Pers. کش, Guj. કાષ

4 Vara, Sans. उरस, Per. بر

5 Parshti, Sans, पृष्ट, Pers. پشت, Guj. પાષ્ટ

6 Fshtana, Sans. स्तन, Guj. યાત, Pers. پستان

7 Peresu, Sans. पदर्व, Pers. پهلوی

8 Sraoni, Sans. श्रोणि, Pers. سرین, Lat. Clunia.

19. Hakhti ¹	Abdomen.
20. Dashinem râna	Right thigh.
21. Hôim râna	Left thigh.
22. Dashinem znûm ²	Right knee.
23. Hôim znûm	Left knee.
24. Dashinem aschûm	Right calf of the leg.
25. Hôim aschûm	Left calf of the leg.
26. Dashinem zangem ³	Right ankle.
27. Hôim zangem	Left ankle.
28. Dashinem frabdem ⁴	Right instep.
29. Hôim frabdem	Left instep.
30. Dashinem hakhem	(Below) the sole of the right foot [The Nasush or the impurity of the dead matter is represented as hiding (nivôiryêiti) itself in the form of the wing of a fly (makhshyâo parênem) under the sole of the feet].
31. Hôim hakhem	The sole of the left foot.
32. Dashina angushta	Toe of the right foot.
33. Hôyâ angushta	Toe of the left foot.

Then, we read, that in the end, when washed away with water from its last resort, the sole of the feet, the impurity runs away to the northern regions (apâkhedhraêibyô naêmaêibyô)

1 Hakhti, Sans. साक्षि. Darmesteter translates this word as "sexual parts." From the fact, that a different kind of washing, for men and women, is enjoined, this meaning seems to have been meant.

2 Znu, Sans. जानु, Pers. زانو, Lat. Genu; Fr. genou. Ger. knie, English knee.

3 Zanga, Sans. जङ्घा ankle-bone, bone of the leg.

4 Frabda (fra-pâdha), Sans. मृपद्, the instep of the foot.

the North being the seat of all impurities and evil things. We see that most of the parts of the body in both the above lists are common. The Vendidad purifier, the *yaozdathrya*, leaves aside the arms and makes the physical impurity pass, as it were, in one line down below. But the Indian spirit-doctor attends to these side-portions also. Again, in the Vendidad the right and the left parts of the body are mostly treated separately. The Vendidad lets the impurity pass to the North which was according to the Iranians the seat of all evils. The Chota Nagpuris let the spirit pass in the end to the Earth "which is its (spirit's) proper habitation." Just as after the *rasni*, the Indian patient comes to "her normal state of *mind*," after the purification of the Bareshnûm,—so called from the fact of the purification beginning from the head (*bareshnu*)—the Iranian patient comes to his normal state of health. In India, the process was accompanied by the singing of a song. In ancient Persia, the process was followed by the recital of the *mâthra* (S. *mantra*) of *Yathâ &c.* (Vend. VIII, 72).

THE BABY LANGUAGE AMONG THE PARSEES.¹

The subject of this brief Note is suggested to me by an interesting monograph on the Lhota Nagas by Mr. J. P. Mills (I. C. S.), wherein the author gives at the end of the book, at the close of the chapter on the language of the tribes, a brief para, headed as "Baby Language." He says: "An English mother who says to her baby 'Didums wantums bottleums denums?' uses language sufficiently like that in ordinary use to be intelligible to a mere bachelor, but the Lhotas have a curious custom, when addressing small children, of using words, which are in no way connected with the speech of every day life." Mr. Mills then gives a few instances and adds: "The origin of this baby dialect is unknown but it is noticeable that the Aos use almost identical words in addressing their children."²

Babies among all people seem to have two kinds of languages. The one is the kind of mute language which they utter both in their smiles and cries. It is this kind of language which Christ refers to in the New Testament (St. Mathew XXI. 16), when he says: "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise."³

But there is another kind of "Babies' Language" spoken by the babies when they begin to prater. They learn it easily from their mother's lips and it is this language which, as it were, forms the ground work of their attempts to speak.

¹ This paper was read before the Anthropological Section of the eleventh Indian Science Congress held at Bangalore in January 1924. Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol XIII, No 5, pp. 410-11.

² The Lhota Nagas by J. P. Mills, (1922) p. 225.

³ "15 When the chief priests and scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children crying in the temple, and saying, Hosanna to the son of David; they were sore displeased.

16 And said unto him, "Hearest thou what these say?" And Jesus saith unto them, 'Yea; have ye never read: Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?' (Mathew XXI. 15, 16),

I give here few words of the "Baby-language" of the Parsees. It will be interesting for the sake of comparison, if members of other communities will collect words of the Baby-language of their people. I give the words in Gujarati with their transliteration and translation.

<i>Words.</i>	<i>Meaning.</i>
ગો ગો go go	Medicine. Sweet meal.
મામ-મામ Mâm Mâm	Water. Rice.
તુ તુ Tu tu	Dog.
મ્યાઉ Myâu	Cat.
બાઉ Bâu	Some frightening thing.
ભમ-ભમ Bham-bham	Drum.
તન-તન Tan-tan	Coins. Money.
ચો-ચો Cho-cho	
તી-તી Ti-ti	Hen.
ચાઇ-ચાઇ Châi-châi	Toy or any fine thing.
પા-પા Pâ-pâ	Bread.
ટિક-ટિક Tick-tick	Watch.
મે મે Mé mê	Goat
જી-ઝી Ji-o	To sleep.
આખુ Âkhu	Call of nature.
છી Chi	Filth.
ભુ-ભુ Bhu-bhu	Bath.
આપા Appâ	To eat.
હાટ-હુસ Hât-hus	This word is used to remove away a thing.
ખાઉ-ખાઉ Khâu-khâu	Eatables.
હેલે-માલી Hêlê-mâli	Used to express some kind of movement.
ભમ Bham	Fall.

As said by Mr. Mills in the case of the Baby-language of the Lhota Nagas, the origin of the Parsee Baby-language also cannot be well traced. But some of the words may be taken as onomatopoeic, e.g., Tick-tick (watch), Ti-ti (hen), Mê-mê (goat).

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CUSTOM OF SATI.¹

I.

The custom of Sati (सती), wherein a wife destroyed herself on the death of her husband, has been generally associated with India. The word Sati originally means "a virtuous or good woman (or wife),"² from sat सत् truth. Then, it latterly came to be applied to those women, who out of affection for, and loyalty towards, their husbands, sacrificed their lives on the death of their husbands and then to the act itself. The original word for the act was Sahagaman सहगमन which literally meant "accompanying" (the husband) and then "a woman's burning herself with her deceased husband's body; self-immolation of a widow."³ The act itself is also spoken of as sah-marana सह मरण and the woman is spoken of as sah-mrita सह मृता i.e., One who dies with (her husband), "a woman who has burnt herself with her husband."⁴ At times, women burnt themselves to avoid the doing of acts which they did not like. For example, Ranak Devi of Kāthiāwād "burnt herself as a Sati at Wadhvān" to avoid marrying Siddh Rāj who wanted to make her his queen.⁵

Though not generally practised, the custom was prevalent in India upto 1829, when Lord William Bentinck stopped it by legislature. It was ascertained, that before that time, in one year (1817 A. C.), in one part of India alone, in Bengal, about 700 wives had thus sacrificed themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands. The custom had drawn the attention of

¹ This paper was read before the Anthropological Section of the eleventh Indian Science Congress held at Bangalore in January 1924. Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII, No 5, pp. 412-23.

² Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary (1890), p. 1083, ed. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1111.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ The History of Kāthiāwād, by Capt Wilberforce-Bell (1916), p. 69.

that great ruler of India, Akbar the Great. He did not prevent it altogether, as Lord Bentinek latterly did, but prevented it when enforced by others against the will of the widow. He had set it down as one of the duties of the Kotwāls, who corresponded to our Superintendents of Police, that they should prevent compulsion in the matter of the Sati. If any woman committed it of her own wish, she was not interfered with, but no compulsion was tolerated.¹ There was an instance, when Akbar himself ran to the rescue of a woman. On the death of one Jaimall, a cousin of Rājā Bhagwān Dās, his widow, a daughter of Rājā Udai Singh, refused to sacrifice her life. Her relatives, and among them, her son, who also was named Udai Singh, insisted that she should commit Sati. They were thinking of using physical force upon her for the purpose. When Akbar heard of it in the early morning, he immediately rode alone and unattended to the spot and prevented the act. "At first he was disposed to execute the guilty parties, but on consideration he granted them their lives and merely imprisoned them for a short period."² The Sati Burj in Mathura was built in 1570 to commemorate the self-immolation of a wife of Rājā Bihār Mall of Ambêr (Jaipur).³

Dr. J. Eggeling, in his article on Brahmanism,⁴ considers Sati to be a "comparatively modern innovation." He says: "The right of *suttee* (properly sati, i.e., the faithful wife), or voluntary immolation of widows....seems to have sprung up originally as a local habit among the Kshatrayas, and, on becoming more and more prevalent, to have at length received

¹ V. Smith's *Life of Akbar*, p. 382.

² *Ibid.* p. 226. The Story is described at some length in the Akbar-nāmeh "His feeling of justice and humanity made him fear that if he sent messengers to stop the proceedings, some delay might occur, so he mounted his horse and rode with all speed to the place" (Calcutta Ed. of the Asiatic Society of 1886 Vol. III, p. 402 l. 5 et seq. vide Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VI, 69).

³ Smith's *Akbar*, *Ibid.* p. 434

⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. IV, pp. 210-11 (9th Ed.)

Brâhmanical sanction. The alleged conformity of the rite to the Hindû scriptures has been shown to have rested chiefly on a misquotation, if not on intentional garbling, of a certain passage of the *Rigveda*, which, so far from authorizing the concremation of the widow, bids her return from the funeral pile to her home and resume her worldly duties." The object of this paper is to examine this question, whether the custom is very ancient or later.

II.

It seems that the custom is very ancient. The very fact that it is referred to by ancient classical writers like Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, shows, that it prevailed in India before the Christian era.

Diodorus Siculus (*i.e.*, of Sicily), who had travelled in Asia and who lived in the first century B.C., in his history, refers to a case of Sati in the camp of Eumenès, the Private Secretary and general, one after another, of Philip of Macedon and of his son, Alexander the Great. Eumenès had accompanied Alexander to Asia. On the death of his royal master, by whom he was most respected and loved, when his dominions were divided, he was given Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. To secure and preserve these, he had to fight long with other rivals. After one of his successful battles against Antigonos, when he was arranging for a decent sepulchre for his soldiers who were killed in the battle, the case of a Sati in his camp came to his notice. It was the case of an Indian officer of his camp, named Ceteüs or Keteüs. Diodorus refers to this matter, and I will quote him at full length to present a full view of the case as seen and noted by the Greeks. If I do not mistake, this is the oldest recorded case of an Indian Sati, having occurred in the beginning of the 4th century B.C., Eumenès having lived from 360 to 315 B.C.¹

¹ Bk. XIX. Chap. X. English writers refer to it as Bk. XIX. Sections 33-34. I give my translation from the French version of Abbé Terrasson—*"Histoire Universelle de Diodore de Sicile, traduite en Français, par M. L'Abbé Terrasson (1780) Tome VI, pp. 60-64.*

"He (Eumenès) contented himself by burying his dead with suitable decency. It was during this time when he was doing this duty that he was the witness of an extraordinary fact, which was altogether opposed to the laws and manners of Greece. A certain Ceteüs, an Indian by nation and an officer in his army, had been killed in battle, after having fought valiantly. He left as widows two wives who had followed him in the war and who were in the camp—one whom he had married only a short time before, and another, older by some years, and both extremely attached to him. Now, there was a law among the Indians according to which marriages were performed independently of the wishes of the parents, only by the consent of the young couples. It resulted from this that quarrels and dissensions often occurring among deluded people without experience, they reciprocally repented of their choice. The young wives thereby fell in disorderly life and carried their attachment elsewhere. But, since the law of the country and public good did not permit them for that purpose to abandon their first choice, it occurred to many among them to get rid of their husbands by poison. The nature of the country supplied them with several species (of poison) among which there were several herbs, with which it was sufficient to touch the food or the drinking vessels to convey all their poison to them. This baneful practice having become much prevalent and the punishments themselves not preventing them, these people passed a law, whereby the wives were obliged to burn themselves with the bodies of their dead husbands, with the exception, nevertheless, of those who found themselves enccinte or who had living infants; and if some one did not wish to submit herself to this law, not only should she remain a widow during the rest of her life, but she must also be excluded, as impious and sacriligious, from all public assemblies. The obstinate among the women then turned themselves in another direction; because, not only the care for their own lives made them give great attention to the health of their husbands, but when death carried them away,

there was emulation among them as to who should procure the best grace of the honour of following her husband on his funeral pile; and this is what has happened after this. Though the law has spoken of only one wife, the two (wives) of Chitaw came forward, to dispute, one with the other, the advantage of following him. The youngest, a first, represented before the officers of the army who were their judges, that the eldest was really pregnant and that therefore, she was excluded from her privilege by the very words of the law, and the other maintained that her seniority alone assured her right, and gave her a privilege which no other circumstance can render doubtful. However, the officers of war, who were their judges, being assured by the midwives that the elder was pregnant, decided for the second. Immediately, the one who lost her cause retired about lamentable cries, destroying all the veils which she carried on her head and tearing her hair, as an expression of the grief of her misfortune. The other, on the contrary, trusted with such joy, adorned in her apparels at the hands of all the women of her acquaintance, and with head loaded with rubies and diamonds, was conducted to the funeral pyre, as the custom was, by all her family who sang hymns in her honour. When she arrived at the foot of the pyre, her husband, after having made her distribute with her own hand all the different pieces of her ornaments and to her friends, in order to demonstrate the extent of her affection for them and a motive to expiate her sins. These ornaments consisted of a large number of rings, which she had on her fingers, all adorned with precious stones of all colours selected from among the most brilliant and the most rare. Her head was adorned with golden stars, weighing each one of the same weight and of the same lustre as the precious stones, and she carried on her neck a multitude of necklaces of the same kind, big in breadth and length. In the end, after having made her last adieu to all her relatives, her brother gave her his hand to mount over the funeral pyre and within the space of an innumerable people who admired her firmness she threw herself in the flames in which she heroically lost her life. From the

that she arrived at the place up to that when she mounted upon the funeral pyre, the guard, (i.e., the soldiers serving as guard) had (sufficient) time to make three rounds (round the pyre). The first thing she did on mounting was to place herself in her full length over the body of her husband. The violence of the fire which they lighted at the same moment did not allow her to utter a single cry. Among the spectators some were touched with a veritable compassion ; others admired such a heroic firmness and a third set found in such practices, a fierceness of manners which could only suit the savage and the barbarous."

This example shows that the custom prevailed in India long before the birth of Christ and is not recent.

Strabo, (54 B. C.—24 A. C.) refers to another Greek who had

Strabo on the authority of Aristobulus. accompanied Alexander the Great to India. It is Aristobulus of Cassandria, who wrote a history of his expedition with Alexander.

Aristobulus according to Strabo, at first refers to two Hindu sophists or ascetics whom he met at Taxila and then to "some strange and unusual customs of the people of Taxila."¹ Strabo then says : "The dead are thrown out to be devoured by vultures. To have many wives is a custom common to these and to other nations. He (Aristobulus) says, that he had heard, from some persons, of wives burning themselves voluntarily with their deceased husbands ; and that those women who refused to submit to this custom were disgraced. The same things have been told by other writers "²

Thus, we see on the authority of two classical writers who lived before the Christian era, and who depended for their statements on the authority of two writers who had accompanied Alexander to India, that the custom of Sati prevailed in India in the fourth century B. C , and that it may have prevailed earlier.

Again, it appears, that the custom was not confined to India. It prevailed among some other people of the Indo-Germanic stock.

¹ The Geography of Strabo, translated by Hamilton and Falconer (1857), Vol. III, p. 112. Bk. XV (on India), Chap. I, 62.

² *Ibid.*, p. 112.

III

According to Herodotus (484-406 B. C. Bk. V. 5), strange customs prevailed among the Trausi, one of the tribes of the ancient Thracians. Sati among the Thracians, according to Herodotus. This tribe differed from the other tribes of the Thracians, in the matter both of birth and death. Herodotus says: "The relations, seating themselves round one that is newly born, bewail him, (deploring) the many evils he must needs fulfil, since he has been born; enumerating the various sufferings incident to mankind: but one that dies they bury in the earth, making merry and rejoicing, recounting the many evils from which being released, he is now in perfect bliss."¹ Then, Herodotus refers to a custom among a tribe of the Thracians which lived "above the Crestonæans." He says: "Those above the Crestonæans do as follows: each man has several wives; when therefore any of them dies, a great contest arises among the wives, and violent disputes among their friends, on this point, which of them was most loved by the husband. She who is adjudged to have been so, and is so honoured, having been extolled both by men and women, is slain on the tomb of her own nearest relative, and when slain is buried with her husband; the others deem this a great misfortune for this is the utmost disgrace to them."²

The Venedi or Winedi was an old German tribe. Tacitus³ is doubtful whether to take it as a German tribe or a Sarmatian tribe. This tribe extended as far as the Baltic. "Their name is also preserved in Wenden, a part of Livonia."⁴ It is said of these people that among them, "the wife refused to survive her husband, but killed herself in order

¹ Herodotus Bk. V. 4, Cary's Translation (1889), p. 308.

² Bk. V. 5, *Ibid*, p. 308.

³ A Treatise on the Situation, Manners, and Inhabitants of Germany, by C. Cornelius Tacitus, translated by Dr. John Aikin (1823), p. 117, Chap. XLVI.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 118, note m.

to be burnt on the same funeral pyre with him."¹ We also find in this part of the book of Tacitus a reference to a dislike towards widow-marriage. Tacitus says: "Still more exemplary is the practice of those states in which none but virgins marry, and the expectation and wishes of a wife are at once brought to a period. Thus, they take one husband as one body and one life; that no thought, no desire may extend beyond him; and he may be loved not only as their husband but as their marriage."²

Maçoudi, in his "Maruj al Zahb va Ma'adan al johr" refers to a similar custom among some of the early tribes living in the mountains of Caucasus. He says:³

"The domiciled pagans in this country are of several races, among whom are the Slavs and the Russians who are relegated to one of the two quarters of the city. They burn their dead placing upon the same funeral pile beasts of burden, their arms and their dress. When a man dies his wife is burnt alive with him. But if it is the wife who dies first, the husband does not submit himself to the same fate. When some one dies celibate, they give him a wife after his death. The women ardently desire to be burnt with their husbands to enter into paradise in their company. This custom, as we have already remarked, prevails in India, where, however, the wife is only burnt with her husband when she consents herself."

Maçoudi refers in the above passage to the custom prevalent in India also.

Yule, in his Anglo-Indian Glossary⁴ quotes a number of authorities whose statements seem to show that the custom

¹ *Ibid.* p. 52, note h.

² *Ibid.* page 52.

³ I translate from Barbier de Meynard's French translation Vol. II, p. 9

⁴ Hobson Jobson. Glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases by Col. H. Yule and Dr. A. C. Burnell. New Ed. by W. Crooke. (1903), pp. 879-882.

was also prevalent in countries other than India. We also learn from the Primitive Culture (Chap. IX) of Tylor that there were somewhat same or similar customs among other primitive people.

Indian scholars pointed to some texts of the Vedas as authority for the practice which was considered to be religious. But it has been said, that the passages referred to have been mis-translated or misunderstood. But, laying aside the question of the correctness and the authenticity of the texts, we find that, as pointed out above, the custom was prevalent among the Hindoos in times as old as that of the invasion of India by Alexander the Great.

[illegible]

and animal substances after one's death. But, to suppose that wives were also sacrificed with that view is carrying the matter too far in that direction. It is not possible to take that view of an Indian or an Aryan wife, when we consider the exalted loving position which an Indian or Aryan wife occupied in her Indian or Aryan home. Even after her husband's death, the wife had to fulfil many duties—duties religious as well as social—at home, duties towards the soul of the husband and duties towards his children. So, it is not proper to believe that the spirit of a pious Hindu ignored the well-being of his children and his family and expected his wife to follow him. That may be so in some primitive people, but that cannot be said of an advanced people like the Hindus.

So, we must look for some other motive for the commitment of Sati-ship at least in later times. That motive should be sought in the high ideal of love and affection among some wives. Marriage was no ordinary contract among the Hindus. It was a religious sacrament. It was thought that a pair once united was united as it were for ever. So, some wives, carried away, rather far, by that sentiment, sacrificed their lives to continue united with their dear husbands, their loving lords. Of course, it were not all the women who were guided by such a sentiment. Many may have been guided by the mere force of custom, but that should not prevent us from forming a true idea of the sentiment of the few. We are not justifying the custom in all its aspects, we do not recommend its revival or continuance, but we have to appreciate the motive which may have moved some.

The Parsees form a branch of the Indo-Iranian group of nations of which the Hindus are a principal people. There is no reference in their ancient extant literature to any prevalent custom of Sati. But a prevalent custom of theirs, which also is not enjoined in their scriptures, seems to be a relic, not of any custom of *Sati*, but of some higher idea of womanhood or rather wifehood. There is a custom

The Parsee view of performing the Funeral Ceremonies in double.

among them that when a husband or wife dies, it is not only of the dying person that the funeral ceremonies are performed but also of the surviving partner. If a wife dies certain religious ceremonies have to be performed. But together with these, exactly the same funeral ceremonies are at times performed for the living husband. The funeral ceremonies are known as the Sraosh ceremonies, and in the case, where they are performed in double, *i.e.*, for the husband also, they are spoken of as *Jorâni kryâ* *i. e.*, ceremonies of the (married) pair. Similarly, when the husband dies the same ceremonies are repeated for the wife. Whether the husband or wife is living or dead, this double set of ceremonies (*jorâni kryâ*) is celebrated. All the ceremonies are the same with this small difference that in the recital of their names which are mentioned in the funeral ceremonies, while the deceased is spoken of as “*anosheh-rawân*” *i. e.*, the immortal-souled, the living (husband or wife, if he or she is living at the time) is spoken of as *zindeh-rawân* *i. e.* living-souled. Again a wife's name is recited in the ritual with that of her first husband, even if the husband died before marriage and after the betrothal.

Now, the original motive at the bottom of this double set of ceremonies, seems to be the same as that mentioned above in the case of a Hindu wife. Marriage being a religious sacrament, it is naturally believed that a married pair once formed is formed for ever. It is united (*jorâni*) for ever. Death cannot separate them.

Between what followed from the original high ideal among the Hindus and that among the Parsees, there are two points of difference : (a) The Parsee did not go to the extreme end of, what may be now termed, sacrificing one's life. He stopped short, and, not going to the inhuman extent of giving up his life, rested consolate with the double set of funeral ceremonies. (2) The second difference was this, that when among the Hindus it was only the woman that conceived this high ideal and it was

she alone who sacrificed her life on the death of her husband, and not the husband on the death of his wife, among the Parsees, it was both, the wife and the husband, that performed the double set of funeral ceremonies (jorâni kryâ).

Jehangir, in his Memoir ¹, thus refers to the custom of Sati :

The Custom, prevalent at one time, among the Mahomedans of India.

" It is the custom among the Hindus that after the death of their husbands women burn themselves, whether from love, or to save the honour of their fathers, or from being ashamed before their sons-in-law." It is in connection with the particular event of a Mahomedan mother who died after her son, that Jehangir refers to the custom. The very fact, that here, a mother, (the mother of Jalâlu-d-dîn Mas'ûd) " from excessive love " for her son, killed herself shows, that the motive for sati-ship was love and affection for the husband.

It seems that the custom continued among the Mahomedans who were converted from Hinduism and Jehangir complains about it. We read in the Wâkiât-i-Jehangiri (Ellot's History of India Vol. VI. p. 376) : " The people of Râjaur were originally Hindus. Sultan Firoz converted them. Nevertheless their chiefs are still styled Râjâs. Practices which prevailed during the times of their ignorance are still observed among them. Thus, wives immolate themselves alive on the funeral pyres of their husbands, and bury themselves alive in their graves. It was reported that, only a few days ago, a girl of twelve years old had buried herself with her husband. Indigent parents strangle their female offspring immediately after birth. They associate and intermarry with Hindûs—giving and taking daughters. As for taking, it does not so much matter ; but as for giving their own daughters—heaven protect us ! Orders were issued prohibiting these practices for the future, and punishment enjoyed for their infraction "

1 The Tuzuk-i Jehangiri translated by Rogers and Beveridge Vol. I, p. 142.

Mr. Snell, in his "Customs of Old England," refers to some views prevalent in England, which show, that even in Old England, some people did not like widow-marriages and held the Hindu view of "the culmination of duty and fidelity in life and death."¹ Mr. Snell says: "There is ample evidence that the indifference to the marriage of widows which marks our time did not obtain always and everywhere; on the contrary, among widely separated races such arrangements evoked deep repugnance, as subversive of the perfect union of man and wife."²

We find from an account of recent excavations in England that the custom at one time prevailed in ancient England also.³ The account confirms what Tacitus said that the pagan Saxon wives slew themselves when their husbands died.

¹ The Customs of Old England by F. J. Snell 1911. *Vide* ch. II Vowesses. p. 11.

² *Ibid*, p. 10.

³ Times of India 16th April 1923. Telegram from England.

THE ROOT-IDEA AT THE BOTTOM OF NUDITY SPELLS.¹

Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra, in his paper, entitled "A Recent instance of the Use of Nudity-spell for rain-making in Northern Bengal,"² describes a case, where, in order to pray for rain, to their Rain-god Hutumdeva, the Râj-bunsi women of Northern Bengal stripped themselves naked and danced before the god. The author attributes this custom to the belief that the god was frightened by nudity and therefore poured forth rain. As said by Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra, Mr. W. Crooke, one of the most distinguished of our ex-presidents, in one of his works,³ refers to such nudity-spells. He says, that these nudity-spells have their parallels in Europe. He begins by describing the nudity-spell in Servia which is referred to by Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra in his paper. He also refers to a nudity-spell in Russia. He then refers to Mr. Conway's *Demonology* (I. 267), wherein the author thinks "that the nudity of the women represents their utter poverty and inability to give more to conciliate the god of the rain." Mr. Crooke thinks it difficult to account for the nudity part of the ceremony. However, he adds "It may possibly be based on the theory, that spirits dread indecency or rather the male and female principles. This may be the origin of the indecencies of word and act practised at the Holî and Kajari festivals in Upper India, which are both closely connected with the control of the weather."⁴ As a parallel to the

¹ This paper was read before the Anthropological section of the eleventh Indian Science Congress, held at Bangalore, in January, 1924. (*Jour. Anthropol. Soc. Bombay* Vol. XIII, No 5, 424—31.)

² Read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay in November 1923, *Journal* Vol XII.

³ An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India by W. Crooke (1894) pp. 30-43 &c

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 40.

custom in Servia, Mr. Crooke describes the following case in India: "During the Gorakhpur famine of 1873-74 there were many accounts received of women going about with a plough at night, stripping themselves naked and dragging it across the fields as an invocation to the rain-god. The men kept carefully out of the way while this was being done. It was supposed that if the women were seen by men the spell would lose its effect."¹

II.

Now the question is: What is the root-idea at the bottom of the custom?

Is it an appeal to the rain-god as suggested by Mr. Conway on the ground of poverty and inability, Various root-ideas (a) Expression of poverty. the appeal saying as it were: "O Rain-god! We appeal to you to send forth rain. We are willing to make an offering to you, in order to give some concrete form to our appeal. But we are sorry, we are very poor and are reduced to utter poverty. Look to us; we are so poor that we have no clothing upon our bodies. We therefore pray that you help us, who are poor, by poring down your rain."

Or is it an attempt to frighten the rain-god, as suggested by Mr. Crooke and by Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra? We have not sufficient ground, at least in the cases submitted, to take it that the idea was to frighten the rain-god. (b) Attempt to frighten

The root-idea may be that of temptation or allurements. Some of the tribal gods or spirits are (c) Temptation. supposed to be evil-minded having all the passions and desires of men. So, we may say, that the idea may be that of alluring them, of tempting their passions, and of thus propitiating them. Mr. Crooke refers to a case of Hindu women referred to by Mrs. Fanny Parkes, in

¹ *Ibid*, p. 41.

her "Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque," and says, that the nudity practised by the women was to *propitiate* the goddess. Now we cannot propitiate by frightening or by creating dread. One can propitiate by a tempting offering of pleasure, or by offering a sacrifice.

Again, the root-idea may be that of an expression of all

(d) Expression of humility. An initiate, when he is presented before a Master-mason, for being admitted

into the Masonic craft, is presented, if not all naked, at least in a state of half-nudity. He is deprived of all his upper garments and is made penniless, all his money—not only his purse containing his money, but even every bit of metal that may pass as money, e.g., his keys, and his spectacles—being taken away from him. The idea being to say, as it were, "Naked I come and naked I will go." The root-idea at the bottom of the custom in question may be something similar. The applicants, the village women in this case, appear before their master, their rain-god, in all humility and appeal to him for rain.

Perhaps, the idea may be that of shaming the rain-god

(e) Putting to shame. and thus of forcing him to do his duty of pouring forth rain. The rain-god has been

recalcitrant, and so, the women attempt to shame him by their nudity. A story in Classical writers¹ suggests this view. Once, Cyrus the Great of Persia had his capital of Pasargadæ invaded by his enemy. He, with his Persians, went out of the city to drive away the enemy but had a great reverse. So, he and his Persians were running away to the city. The women of the city, knowing what had happened, all came out of the city, and, removing their lower garments, went towards their flying husbands, brothers, fathers and sons, in a state of half-nudity, and upbraided them for their cowardice in running away from the enemy and trying to shelter themselves within the city gates. Pointing

¹ Account of Ctesrus preserved by Amaxemenes, Strabo.

to the naked part of their bodies, they said, as it were: "Where do you fly? Do you fly here? It is shame that you should run away and put your women to the risk of being captured by the enemy. Turn back and fight valiantly for your women-folk": It is said that Cyrus and his Persians were put to shame and they all went back to the battle-field, fought valiantly again, and won. It is said that the successors of Cyrus remembered this episode, and whenever they went to the city, they presented a silver coin to every one of its women. It is further said, that a miserly successor, in order to avoid the payment, avoided entering into the city and proceeded in his journey from without. Thus, the nudity-spell may have at its bottom, the idea of putting the rain-god to shame.

Again, in the Avesta, land is compared with a woman
 A fertile piece of land is like a child-bearing
 (f) Appeal for fertility woman, and a barren piece like a barren
 childless woman. We read in the Vendidad
 (III 24-25): "That land, which is cultivable by a cultivator
 is (*i.e.*, feels) unhappy, if it long lies uncultivated. It is like a
 young man's good handsome wife who has long remained
 childless. O Spitama Zarathushtra! For him, who cultivates
 this land from the left side to the right side and from the right
 to the left, the land carries some fruit or crop, just as a loving
 husband, lying on a bed with his loving bride, gives her (*i.e.*,
 makes her conceive of) a son (as) a fruit (of the marriage)." So,
 perhaps, the idea is that the women of the village, going
 to the fields, with their conceiving organs naked, appeal as it
 were, with a kind of sympathethic magic to the rain-god, the
 god of fertility, to give fertility to the soil just as their males
 give them fertility.

Again, the fact, that the women go to the fields with a plough, reminds us of the custom of the Shāhs (kings) of Persia, even up to a few years ago. going to a field on the Jamshedi Naoroz day, the day of the vernal equinox when Spring sets in. He moves

the plough and turn the first clod as a good omen, praying for God's blessing upon the fields. In the case of the nudity-spell in question,—the nudity associated with the above idea of suggesting fertility—the turning of the plough by the women adds an additional suggestion and prayer.

But one must not generalize. There may be different ideas at the bottom of the various customs and beliefs of nudity in various countries. It may be that of an appeal to the god on account of their poverty or that of creating a dread or fright, or that of temptation to a kind of carnal enjoyment or pleasure or that of an expression of humility or that of putting the god to shame or that of expressing a desire of fertility.

But, I think, in the case of a somewhat higher class of society, the idea is that of a kind of sacrifice.

(c) Idea of self-sacrifice. It is something like that, which corresponds to, what Herbert Spencer calls, "Self-surrender" which lies "at the bottom of many of our modern practices of salutation."¹ In the present case, the case is that of salutation, not to fellow-men, but, to a god. It is a case of salutation and prayer to a god. Here, the idea is that of self-sacrifice, sacrifice of what is most dear and valuable to us. The idea, at the root of the rite, is to do a very unusual thing which may be considered as a great sacrifice. In this case, the women do the most unusual thing viz the sacrifice of their high sentiments of decency. They say, as it were, to the Rain-God: "We offer to you as sacrifice what is nearest and dearest to us, our Modesty, and pray to you to accept our offering and to give us rain in return."

* I remember, that when I was eleven or twelve years of age, there was the marriage ceremony of the son, the only child, of my paternal aunt. She seemed to have taken a vow, that when

¹ Vide my paper on "Tibetan Salutations" before the Anthropological Society of Bombay, read on 28th January 1914 Vol. X, pp. 165-177. Vide my Anthropological Papers Part II, pp 110-123

God brought about the marriage of her only son, she would do some unusual thing which may strike others ; and what she did was, that, at the time of welcoming her son or her daughter-in-law, I forget whom, at the threshold of the Fire-temple where the marriage was to be celebrated, she took off her slippers and stood and performed the welcoming-ceremony, with bare feet. I remember my father being annoyed at this unusual act of a little want of manners before a large assembly. Here, she sacrificed, for the sake of a religious vow to God, good manners, which should be sacredly observed. So, the idea seems to be that of sacrificing what is most dear to us. Take, for example, the case of the Patriarch in the Bible sacrificing his dear son.

Again, take the case of the women of ancient Babylon, which, from our modern point of view, is worse than
 Case of Babylon. that of the Bengal women, referred to by Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra. Herodotus (Bk. I. 199) thus refers to this matter :—¹ “The most disgraceful of the Babylonian customs is the following: every native woman is obliged, once in her life, to sit in the temple of Venus, and have intercourse with some stranger. And many disdaining to mix with the rest, being proud on account of their wealth, come in covered carriages, and take up their station at the temple with a numerous train of servants attending them. But the far greater part do thus : many sit down in the temple of Venus, wearing a crown of cord round their heads; some are continually coming in, and others are going out. Passages marked out in a straight line lead in every direction through the women, along which strangers pass and make their choice. When a woman has once seated herself, she must not return home till some stranger has thrown a piece of silver into her lap, and lain with her outside the temple. He who throws the silver must say thus : ‘I beseech the goddess Mylitta to favour thee :’ for the Assyrians call Venus Mylitta. The silver may be ever so small, for she will not reject it, inasmuch as it is not *lawful*.”

¹ Carey's Translation, p. 86.

for her to do so, for such silver is accounted sacred. The woman follows the first man that throws, and refuses no one. But when she has had intercourse and has absolved herself from her obligation to the goddess, she returns home; and after that time, however great a sum you may give her you will not gain possession of her. Those that are endowed with beauty and symmetry of shape are soon set free; but the deformed are detained a long time, from inability to satisfy the law, for some wait for a space of three or four years. In some parts of Cyprus there is a custom very similar." The supposed or real custom of giving the right of the first night to the head priest in some tribes seems to have a similar object.

Here also then the root idea is that of sacrificing, to the God of the Temple, once in life, what is most valuable and dearest with women viz: their chastity.

I have said more than once, that many a custom passes from the Church to the State or to the Society. Take the case of such a process in what we hear of some Parliamentary elections. To win the favour of, what we may call, their temporary god, the voter, a lady, the wife of, or some other lady closely related to, the candidate, sacrifices her modesty and gives a kiss to a stranger to have the favour of a voto.

I will refer here to the case of the 4,000 Japanese women, who, out of regard and love for, their holy temple, sacrificed what was dearest and nearest to them, viz. their hair which gave them beauty. It is the case which I have referred to in my second paper on my visit to Japan, read before this Society. I will quote here what I have said there: "I had the pleasure of seeing, on 11th April 1922, a grand temple of one of the offshoots of this sect (of Honen), the Higashi Hongwanji, at Kyoto. The original temple is said to have been burnt by fire and the present one was built in 1895 by public subscription,—gifts in money and gifts in kind. The gifts

in kind consisted of building materials like timber, etc. One of such gifts in kind was by the women of Japan, 4,000 of whom are said to have cut off their hair as a holy sacrifice and offered them for the preparation of ropes to lift up heavy loads of timber required in the construction of the temple. Japanese women have very long hair and the ropes, woven from the long hair of 4,000 pious, self-sacrificing daughters of Japan, were many. When moving about in the temple, I was struck by its grandeur, but more so by the sight of four—out of many, which were, as I was told, in the godowns—huge rolls of such hair-ropes which were placed there to inspire pious thoughts among the worshippers. Women often make noble sacrifices for their country and their religion and here was an example of that kind. Four thousand Japanese women sacrificed what was more valuable than jewellery, their hair, which added to their natural beauty. I was tempted to take a few hair out of these ropes to present them to my daughters and daughters-in-law, as mementoes of my journey to a country whose women were all masters of courtesy and such self-sacrificing piety.”¹

In Burmah, it is a general practice for women to dedicate their locks of hair to their temples. That was a prevalent custom in some parts of ancient Greece. According to Pausaninus “Twezanian maidens used to dedicate locks of their hair in the temples of the bachelor Hippolytus before marriage.”²

The gift of the best of our possessions when voluntarily given, takes the form of a sacrifice or offering, but, when compulsorily demanded, takes the form of a punishment. The above is the case of a voluntary offering of hair by women. But at times, women were compulsorily deprived of their hair and then it was the case of punishment. The old Parsee Punchayet, about more than hundred years ago, punished, on rare occasions, incorrigibly bad women by cutting off their hair.

¹ *Vide* Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XII, p. 658.

² Pausanias by Frazer p. 28.

AN AMERICAN TRIBE AND ITS BUFFALO AND AN ASIATIC TRIBE AND ITS FISH.¹

I.

Mr. Ellsworth Huntington, in his "Pulse of Asia"², attaches a good deal of importance to his, what is called, "Bread and Butter Theory" about the spread of mankind in different parts of the world at different times. In fact, that theory may be said to be the cause of many wars, ancient and modern. The physical and intellectual condition of people depends, to a certain extent, upon their environments. This question of environment is associated with the question of the "Heritage of Food" and "Heritage of Dress." Again, these questions are related to the geographic theory of the history of nations. Now, the subject of this brief paper has been suggested to me by the Bulletin, No. 77, of the Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology (pp. 3 et seq.), in which there is an interesting article entitled "Villages of the Algonquian, Siouan and Cadoan Tribes, west of the Mississippi" by Mr. David I. Bushnell. This article reminds us of the above questions of environment and of dress and food. I propose speaking in this paper of an Asiatic tribe similarly affected.

II.

Speaking of the above Mississippi Tribes and their Habitat, our author says: "During the past two or three centuries great changes have taken place in the locations of the tribes which were discovered occupying the region west of the Mississippi by the first Europeans to penetrate the vast wilderness.

¹ This paper was read before the Anthropological Section of the eleventh Indian Science Congress held at Bangalore in January 1924. (Jour. Anthropol. Soc. of Bombay, Vol. XIII No. 5 pp. 433-37.)

² The Pulse of Asia. A Journey in Central Asia, illustrating the Geographic basis of History by Ellsworth Huntington, (1907)

Thus the general movement of many Siouan tribes has been westward, that of some Algonquian groups southward, from their earlier habits, and the Caddoan appear to have gradually gone northward. It resulted in the converging of the tribes in the direction of the great prairies occupied by the vast herds of buffalo which served to attract the Indian. Until the beginning of this tribal movement it would seem that a great region eastward from the base of the Rocky Mountains, the rolling prairie lands, was not the home of any tribes but was solely the range of the buffalo and other wild beasts, which existed in numbers now difficult to conceive "

We thus see that the vast hordes of buffalo have to some extent affected the habitat of tribes. Some of the tribes lived upon, and, as it were, lived in, the buffalo. Our author says :

"With the practical extermination of the buffalo in recent years, and the rapid changes which have taken place in the general appearance of the country, it is difficult to picture it as it was two or more centuries ago. While the country continued to be the home of the native tribes game was abundant, and the buffalo, in prodigious numbers, roamed over the wide region from the Rocky Mountains to near the Atlantic. It is quite evident, and easily conceivable, that wherever that buffalo was to be found it was hunted by the people of the neighbouring villages, principally to serve as food. But the different parts of the animal were made use of for many purposes. In an early Spanish narrative, one prepared nearly four centuries ago, the author refers to the oxen of Quivira and says that they "their master have no other riches nor substance" of them eat, they drink, they apparel, they shooe themselves and of their hides they make many things. as houses, shooes, apparel and ropes : of their bones they make bodkins ; of their sinews and hair, thread : of their hornes, maws, and bladders, vessels ; of their dung, fire . and of their calves-skinnes, budgets, wherein they drawe and keepe water. To bee short, they make so man

things of them as they neede of, or, as many as suffice them in the use of this life. (Gomara, (1) p. 382).

III.

Some Classical writers present a similar example of a tribe, called the Ichthiophagi, living on the south of ancient Gedrosia in the country of modern Mekran.¹ Just as the American tribes lived on the flesh of the buffalo, and dwelt in huts made of their skins, so, the Mekran tribe lived on the flesh of fish, dwelt in huts made of their bones and scales, and dressed themselves in their skins. Strabo thus speaks of this tribe and their country :

“The greater part of the country inhabited by the Ichthyophagi is on a level with the sea. No trees, except palms and a kind of thorn, and the tamarisk, grow there. There is also a scarcity of water and of food produced by cultivation. Both they and their cattle subsist upon fish, and are supplied by rain-water and wells. The flesh of the animals has the smell of fish. Their dwellings are built with the bones of large whales and shells, the ribs furnishing beams and supports, and the jaw-bones, door-ways. The vertebral bones serve as mortars in which fish, which have been previously dried in the sun, are pounded. Of this, with the addition of flour, cakes are made ; for they have grinding mills (for corn), although they have no iron. This however is not so surprising, because it is possible for them to import it from other parts. But how do they hollow out the mills again, when worn away ? with the same stones, they say, with which their arrows and javelins, which are hardened in the fire, are sharpened. Some fish are dressed in ovens, but the greater is eaten raw. The fish are taken in nets made of the bark of the palm.²

¹ For an account of Mekran, *vide* my Gujarati Dnyân Prasârak Essays. Part II, pp. 96-134.

² The Geography of Strabo, Bk. XV, Ch. II, 2. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation (1857), Vol. III, pp. 120-121.

The word *Ichthyophagi* is Greek and means "fish-eater." According to Arrian, who lived in the second century B. C. and who wrote upon the authority of Greek officers, who accompanied Alexander the Great in his invasion of India and passed through the country of Mekran on their return journey, the tribe was called *Ichthyophagi*, because they lived on fish. They ate small fish uncooked. They dried large fish and then grinding them prepared bread from the flesh so pounded. There is, owing to want of water, very little cultivation of grain in their country, and what little grain was produced was eaten more as a relish with fish-bread than as staple food.¹ Arrian, further on, says on the authority of Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander, that even the sheep in the country lived upon fish, and so, their mutton also was fishy.² Arrian also refers to their dress being made from the skins of fish.³

Curtius Rufus, a Roman historian of Alexander the Great, who is believed to have lived in the time of Emperor Vespasian (70-79 A. C.), also says, that large whales and other sea-monsters are often driven to the shores of the country and they supply materials for food, dress and dwelling.⁴ Diodorus Siculus⁵ and Plutarch⁶ also refer to the abundance of fish in the country. Strabo⁷ thus refers to the process of collecting the fish: "The *Ichthyophagi*, on the ebbing of the tide, collect fish, which they cast upon rocks and dry in the sun. When they have well broiled them, the bones are piled in heaps,

¹ Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander and Indica*, (Chap. XXIX), translated by Dr. Chinnock (1893), p. 435.

² *Ibid.*, p. 431, Chap. XXVI.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 429, Chap. XXIV.

⁴ History of Alexander the Great, 9th Bk., Chap. X, translated by McCrindle in his "Invasion of India by Alexander the Great," (1890), p. 263.

⁵ *Bibliotheca Historica of Diodorus Siculus*, 18th Bk., Ch. CV. *Vide* McCrindle's above book, p. 298.

⁶ Plutarch's Life of Alexander. *Vide* Plutarch's Lives, translated by John and William Langhorne (1813), Vol. II, p. 508.

⁷ The Geography of Strabo, Bk. XVI, Ch. IV, 13, Hamilton and Falconer's Translation (1857), Vol. III, pp. 198-199.

and the flesh trodden with the feet is made into cakes, which, are again exposed to the sun and used as food. In bad weather, when fish cannot be procured, the bones of which they have made heaps are pounded, made into cakes and eaten, but they suck the fresh bones. Some also live upon the shell-fish, when they are fattened, which is done by throwing them into holes and standing pools of the sea, where they are supplied with small fish, and used as food when other fish are scarce. They have various kinds of places for preserving and feeding fish, from whence they derive their supply. Some of the inhabitants of that part of the coast which is without water go inland every five days, accompanied by all their families, with songs and rejoicings to the watering places, where, throwing themselves on their faces, they drink as beasts until their stomachs are distended like a drum. They then return again to the sea-coast. They dwell in eaves or cabins, with roofs consisting of beams and rafters made of the bones and spines of whales, and covered with branches of the olive tree"¹

Arrian² also refers to the fact of their houses being made from the bones of the fish. He says that the length of some bones were 25 fathoms *i.e.*, about 152 ft³ Curtius Rufus also refers to their houses as made of the bones of fish⁴ According to Diodorus Siculus, some of the bones which formed beams were 18 cubits in length *i. e.*, about 27 ft. According to him, the big scales of the fish served as tiles of houses⁵

Firdousi, in his Shah-nameh, refers to the gigantic size and strange features of the sea-monsters on this coast of the Arabian

¹ The Geography of Strabo, Bk XVI, Ch. IV, 13, Hamilton and Falconer's Translation (1857), Vol. III, pp 198-199

² Arrian's Anabases of Alexander and Indica, Chaps. XXIX, & XXX, Dr. Chinnock's, Translation, pp. 435-36. Vide also, Bk. VI, Chap. XXIII, Dr. Chinnock's Translation, p. 328.

³ *Ibid.*, p 436, Chap XXX

⁴ McCrindle's Invasion of India by Alexander, p. 262.

⁵ *Ibid* , p. 300.

sea. He represents the army of king Kaikhosru absorbed in wonder on seeing the big fish (shigaft andarûn âb mândeh sepâh)¹. The fish looked big like lions and cows and they fought with each other. Some had the features of men and had long hair (Hamân mardûm va mûihâ ehûn kamand).² Some had their face like that of tigers and some looked like the buffalo. The soldiers struck with wonder, showed to each other these big fish and invoked God.

Namûd hami in badân ân badin.

Hamîn Khândandî Jehân Afrin¹.

We learn from Diodorus Siculus, that the army of Alexander was as much alarmed at the enormous size of the fish as the army of Kaikhosru who lived long before Alexander. Diodorus says on the authority of Nearehus : " But the strangest part of their story was that they had encountered a great many whales and these of an incredible size. They were in great dread of these monsters, and at first gave up all hopes, thinking they might at any moment be consigned—boats and all—to destruction ; but on recovering from their panic, they raised a simultaneous shout, which they increased by rattling their arms and sounding the trumpets, the creatures took alarm at the strange noise and sunk to the depths below ".³

Mekran, the modern name of the country, also points to the above fact of the country abounding with fish. Mr. Hughes⁴ and Dr. Bellew very properly take the name to be a corruption of Mâhi-khurân i.e., fish-eaters.

1 J. A. Vuller's Text, Vol. III, p. 1374, couplet 1987.

2 *Ibid* , couplet 1989.

3 McCrindle's " Invasion of India by Alexander the Great ", p. 300

4 The Country of Balochistan, by A. W. Hughes, p. 152. Lord Curzon (Persia II, p. 281, note) derives the name from Mokara, a tribe mentioned in a Hindu book as living on the West coast of India.

A FEW MARRIAGE SONGS OF THE PARSEES AT NARGOL.*

(Read on 8th October 1926.)

I had the pleasure of passing a few days of the hot season of 1907 at Umbergaon near Dehviêr in the Introduction. seashore house of Mr. Kavasji Gorewalla. From there, I visited the village of Nargol, which is situated on the other side of the Umbergaon creek. There was a wedding there in the house of the Wadia brothers, Messrs. Ruttonji, Sorabji and Bapuji Navroji Wadia, and I was a guest there for two days. I enjoyed my stay there, because a Parsee marriage in the mofussil villages has several enjoyable features of its own. Though the strictly religious ritual is well-nigh the same in all Parsee marriages, there is some difference in the social functions related to marriage. In the case of the religious ceremonies I observed one additional function which is absent from Bombay Parsee marriages. It is this, that while in Bombay the *ashirvad* or benedictions are recited on the marrying couple only, there, in Nargol, a few benedictions, known as those of the *tan-darusti* were recited also over the two persons who were to stand as witnesses in the marriage ritual proper. I remember with grateful pleasure the two days I passed at Nargol, not only for the hospitality but also for the insight I had into the life of my co-religionists there from the social point of view.

The marriage songs like other folk-songs are often interesting and even instructive. They are not always composed by men of letters. At times they are composed by very illiterate persons. But they generally give expression to the simple inmost thoughts and feelings of the people. It is, as it were, not the composers who speak but the simple folk of the place who speak, and they speak from their heart of hearts. So, in my wanderings out of Bombay, I have tried to hear and understand such songs. So, what drew my special attention at the marriage

* Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII No 6, pp 629-32

festivities of Nargol were the marriage songs. On leaving Nargol, I had requested our genial host, Mr. Bapuji Nowroji Wadia, to kindly send me a copy of all the songs as sung by the Parsee ladies of the village on various occasions pertaining to marriage. He kindly did so, with his letter dated *roz* 5 Spendarmad, *mah* I Farrokh Farvardin 1277 Yazdazardi (18th September 1907).

I propose placing before the Society the songs, with my translations and notes, as they give a view of Parsee life in the Mofussil, on the occasion of a marriage.¹

The songs sung at Nargol on the different occasions attending marriage festivities are the following :—

૧. ઢોલી આવવા અગાઉ ગાવાનું.
૨. ઢોલી આવ્યા પછી ગાવાનું.
૩. મુહુરત યેર રોપની વખતે ગાવાનું.
૪. હાથ મુપડાં ધરે તે વખતે ગાવાનું.
૫. પાપડ કરે ત્યારે પડી પાડતી વખતે ગાવાનું.
૬. પીડી ચોરે ત્યારે ગાવાનું.
૭. પીડી ચોરીને ધરમાં લાવીને ગલામાં ગલસુતર પહેરાવતી વખતે ગાવાનું.
૮. સણુગાર લઈ જતી વખતે ગાવાનું.
૯. વહુને ધરમાં સણુગારનાં કપડાં પહેરાવતી વખતે ગાવાનું.
૧૦. લગનને દિવસે સહવારે કુવાપર વરધીઆં ભરવા જાય ત્યાં ગાવાનું.
૧૧. વરધીઆં ભરી કુવા ઉપરથી ઘેરે આવતી વખતે ગાવાનું.
૧૨. છોકરાને અગીઆરીમાં નાહાં નવરાવા જતાં ગાવાનું.
૧૩. છોકરો નાહાં નહાય અથવા નાહી ઉઠે તેનું ગાવાનું
(અગીયારીમાં બેઠાં બેઠાં ગાએ છે)
૧૪. ઉપહુંજ ગાયન ખીજ ઢપે ફેરવી ગાવાનું.
૧૫. નહાં નવરાવી અગીઆરીમાંથી ઘેરે લાવતાં ગાવાનું.

¹ I beg to draw the attention of those who take an interest on Parsee songs to my previous paper entitled "Parsee Life in Parsee songs, Cradle songs" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. V, No. 8, pp. 429-43). Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 140-157.

૧૬. નવજોત યેસતી વખતે ગાવાનું.
 ૧૭. સોપાલો ફેરવતી વખતે ગાવાનું.
 ૧૮. સાંજે વરણી વરઘોડો (સહાજન) ફરે ત્યારે ગાવાનું.
 ૧૯. ચોરી સરાયા પછી છોકરા તરફનાં ગાવાનું.
 ૨૦. પરણી ઉઠ્યા પછી વરને ઘરે લાવતી વખતે ગાવાનું.

I render into English the titles of the above twenty songs:—

1. The song to be sung before the arrival of the drummers.
2. To be sung after the arrival of the drummers.
3. To be sung on planting the *ber*, i.e., willow or bamboo, for the *moorat* or good auspices.
4. To be sung when the *supran*, i.e., the winnowing fans, are taken into hands.
5. To be sung when they strike the *padis*¹ for *pāpats*.
6. To be sung when they apply the *pithee*.
7. To be sung when the couple enters the house and when *gal-sutar* is put round the neck.
8. To be sung when the *sangār* (lit. decorations, i.e., dresses, ornaments, &c.) are carried (from the house of one party to that of another).
9. To be sung when the bride is adorned with a new set of dress in the house.
10. To be sung on the marriage day when they go to the well to fill up the *varadhîâ* pots.
11. To be sung when they return from the well to the house with the *vardhiâ*-pots filled with water.

¹ I will explain the words at their proper places when I will translate the songs.

12. To be sung when the bridegroom is taken to the Agiari (i.e.; Fire-temple) for the *nāhn*¹ bath.
13. To be sung when the bridegroom takes the (sacred) *nāhn* bath and when he finishes the bath. (This is to be sung in the Fire-temple.)
14. The same song to be sung in another way.
15. To be sung when the bride groom is returning to the house from the Fire-temple after taking the sacred bath.
16. To be sung when the Naojote² ceremony performed.
17. To be sung when the *sopalo* is taken round.
18. To be sung in the evening when the *varni* and *varghoda* (*shāhjan*) go round.
19. To be sung by the ladies on the side of the bridegroom after the *chori*, i.e., the marriage ceremony.
20. To be sung after the marriage ceremony when the bridegroom is taken to his house.

Now, I give in this first paper, the first two songs which are named after the Dholi or drummer.

ઢાલી આવવી અંગાઉ ગાવાનું ગીત.

૧. હજી ઓ નહિ આવીઓ ઢાલીડનો પુત,
૨. મેં તો કોડેરે પગડાંણુ માંડીઆરે:—
૩. હજી ઓ નહિ આવી ચોક ચાંદણુ ખેન;
૪. મેં તો કોડેરે પગડાંણુ માંડીઆરે:—
૫. હજી ઓ નહિ આવી ગીદ ગાયણુ ખેન,

¹ Vide for the word my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," p. 95.

² Ibid p. 178.

૬. મેં તો કાડેરે પગડાંણુ માંડીઆરે:—
 ૭. હજી ઓ નહિ આવ્યો એરવદ જાયો પુત,
 ૮. મેં તો કાડેરે પગડાંણુ માંડીઆરે:—
 ૯. હજી ઓ નહિ આવી રાંધણુ સીંધણુ ખહેન,
 ૧૦. મેં તો કાડેરે પગડાંણુ માંડીઆરે:—
 ૧૧. હજી ઓ નહિ આવી સંજોગ વાંજોગ ખહેન,
 ૧૨. મેં તો કાડેરે પગડાંણુ માંડીઆરે:—

(Translation of the first song.)

I. THE SONG TO BE SUNG BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE DHOLI ¹

1. O! still the son of the drummer has not arrived.
2. I have fondly² made all the ³arrangements.
3. O! still the sister (who does the work) of *chok*⁴ *chāndan*, i.e., decorations, &c., has not arrived.

¹ Dhol is Pers. duhul (دھول) drum. Dholi is a drummer. The proper Persian word for a drummer is duhul-baz (دھول باز). The word *dholidā* (دھولید) used in the first line of the song is a slang or pet form for *dholi*.

² કોડે from કોડ “holding admiringly or fondly.”

³ પગડાંણુ seems to be a corrupted form of પગડાં (from પગ foot), i.e., marks or પગલાં steps. What is meant is: I have been fondly ready with all arrangements for marriage.

⁴ ચોક *chok* are “the figures drawn by women on the threshold” with a white powder on holidays, &c (Gujarati and English Dictionary by Shapurji Edalji, 1863).

The word *chāndan* (ચાંદણ) may be another form of *chandalo* (ચાંદલો) “an ornamental and painted patch made by females on the forehead” or “the present of money on a marriage occasion.” The word seems to come from *chānd* (ચાંદ) moon, because the patch or mark on the forehead of women is made in the form of a “moon.” (Vide my Paper on “The Marriage Customs of Parsees” read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 22nd February and 26th July 1899. Vide my “Symbolism in the Marriage Ceremonies of different Nations,” a Lecture delivered before the Ladies' Branch of the National Indian Association at Seth Minar on 21st January 1909, p. 15). Or the word may be derived from *Chādu* (ચાડું) “a small earthen vessel for holding light” because, on such occasions, a lamp is kindled.

4. I have fondly made all the arrangements.
5. O ! still the sister who sings songs has not arrived.
6. I have fondly made all the arrangements.
7. O ! still the son born of an Ervad¹ (priest) has not arrived.
8. I have fondly made all the arrangements.
9. O ! still the sister (who has to do the work) of cooking² has not arrived.
10. I have fondly made all the arrangements.
11. O ! still the sister who has to see the good and bad conjunctions has not arrived.³
12. I have fondly made all the arrangements.

ઢાલી આવીઆ પછી ગાવાનું ગીત.

૧. આવેઓરે આવેઓ ઢાલીડાનો પુત,
૨. આને માહરો માડવડો હંસી રહીઓરે:—
૩. આવીરે આવી ચોક્ક આંદણુ બેહેન,
૪. આને માહરી ઓસરી હંસી રહીરે:—
૫. આવી રે આવી ગીદ ગાયણુ બેહેન,
૬. આને મારી ખડકી હંસી રહીરે:—
૭. આવીઓ રે આવીઓ ઐરવદ જાગો પુત,
૮. આને માહરો ઉભરડો હંસી રહીઓરે:—
૯. આવી રે આવી રાંધણુ સીંધણુ બેહેન,
૧૦. આને મારી રાંધણી હંસી રહીરે:—

1 Ervad is the later form of Pahlavi Hadrhad, Avēta Aēthra patti, meaning one who is "master of learning," i.e., a priest.

2 "rāndhan sidhan" comes from "રાંધવું સીંધવું," i.e., to cook. The second word "સીંધવું" seems to be a corruption of *sinjavum* (સીજવવું) "to purboil, to ponch."

3 Sanjog (સંજોગ) means "coincidence, conjunction, meeting, opportunity." The word is made up of સં and જોગ, i.e., good conjunction or combination (of stars). *Pañj* પાંજોગ is opposite to sanjog (સંજોગ). *Va vi* વા વી means "without." What is meant here is "good or bad," i.e., auspicious or unpropitious.

૧૧. આવી રે આવી સંભોગ વાંભોગ બેહેન,

૧૨. આજે માહરો ઓરડો હંસી રહીઓરે:—

(Translation of the second song.)

II. THE SONG TO BE SUNG AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF THE DHOLI OR DRUMMER.

1. O ! The son of the drummer has come, (he) has come (after all).
2. (So) To-day my bower¹ (or pavilion) is all cheerful. (lit. feels laughing).
3. O ! The sister of *chok chandan* (i.e., decorations) has come, has come;
4. To-day my steps of the front-door² are all cheerful;
5. O ! the sister who sings songs has come, has come;
6. To-day my verandah³ is all cheerful.
7. O ! the son born of a priest has come, has come;
8. To-day my threshold is all⁴ cheerful.
9. O ! the sister of cooking has arrived, has arrived;
10. To-day my cook-room is all cheerful.
11. O ! the sister of good and bad conjunctions has come, has come.
12. To-day my room is all cheerful.

1 Mandavdo (માંડવડો) is a slang or pet form of માંડવ which is another form of મંડપ (a bower, an arbour, a way). A temporary pavilion of branches of trees, bundles of grass and such other products is known by that name.

2 Osari ઓસરી means: Steps leading up to the front door.

3 Khadāki (ખડકી) is the verandah of a house. It also means the front first room next to the verandah. The word also means a street. As the preceding couplet speaks of the front steps (osari), the meaning here seems to be the next place, the verandah.

4 ઉભરડો is another form of ઉપર or ઉપરો, the threshold.

These two songs refer to the beginning of the marriage festivals in a house. The first song represents the lady of the house ready to begin the festivities. She had been making all preparations for days together. She was now ready with everything and is waiting for the following persons.

- (a) The drummer.
- (b) The woman who is to attend to decorations of the front doors for the wedding.
- (c) The family songstress and her party.
- (d) The family priest.
- (e) The cook-maid.
- (f) The woman who prescribed the proper auspicious times for the functions.

She had not to wait long. They all come in turn and she is overjoyed. So in the second song she gives an expression to her joy that all the necessary parties have come and that the festivities have begun in right earnest.

Now, I will say a few words about the functions of the above six persons for whom the landlady waited and whose arrival she welcomes.

The first person, who announces to the street and to the village the occasion of marriage in a house, is the drummer. He is generally accompanied by one or two other drummers and one or two pipers. They form, as it were, necessary functionaries in marriage festivities among the Parsees. It seems that, even in old Iran, a marriage was announced to the people by music at the door of the marrying couple. We read in the *Dinkard*.¹

𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀
𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀

¹ Bk. Chap. 80 S. 15. Dastur Pashotan's *Dinkard*, Vol. II Text, p. 87, ll 2-4. Translation p 97.

Amat Shaur-i¹ duhulak² va surnâi³ bara hâma-i-shatra
âgâsyend âigh hanâ anshutâân khvitôdas yehvunet.

Translation :—When the sound (shaur) of the drum and trumpet inform the whole city that such and such persons get united in marriage.

The decoration of the front of the house forms a necessary requisite on a marriage occasion. Flowers

(b) The woman, decorating the house front with chok.

and *chok*, a kind of wedding sand, play a very important part in a Parsee marriage.

I have spoken at some length upon this subject in my paper read before this society on 26th June 1912 under the title of "The Wedding sand in Knutsford (Cheshire, England) and the Wedding sand (دولت) in India."⁴

The gâyans (گایان) or songstresses played in Bombay upto a few years ago and play, even now, in mo-

(c) The Songstress.

fussil towns, an important part on marriage and other similar gay occasions. They form

a party of three, four or more women. They know by heart all the songs to be sung on happy social occasions like birth, Naojote, marriage, &c. There are professional songstresses of that class who are engaged for the occasions on the payment of certain fees. Most of the joyful occasions have their proper songs and the party of songstresses sing them on particular occasions. In case of certain songs which are considered to be semi-religious or semi-sacred, they begin the songs in a

¹ Or it may be سور Nuptials; a banquet It may be شور shûr, a brazen trumpet

² دولت drum دولت Dastur Peshotan reads the word as surai (دولت), vide. his transliteration in Avesta characters, p. 94, l. 4, but translates it, in English, as "drums." So it seems that on second consideration, he has read the word properly as duhul (دولت). (English Translation, p. 97). In his Gujarati translation (p. 95, l 1) he has translated the word as વજાન vâjân i.e., musical instrument.

³ سرنای sûr-nâi, a trumpet, a clarion blown on feast days.

⁴ Read on 26th June 1913, vide my Anthropological Papers Part II, pp. 31-39.

solemn way after performing the *padyâb*¹ and *Kusti*. The song known as “*ଅମିତାଭି ଶୁଭ*,” i.e., “Song in honour of Fire,” is one which is sung with all religious solemnity. It lasts for three or four hours. It serves for a kind of historical record in later times, as it gives the names of the fire-temples of the first grade and gives some description about their foundation, &c.

In a great centre like Bombay, on marriage occasions, the personal services of the family priest are required only during the marriage ritual. They are required for giving the sacred bath to the couple.² But, as mentioned in the song, in the Mofussil towns, his presence is required from the beginning. He is present at the *moorat*, i.e., the auspicious ritual of the beginning of the festivities.

(c) The Cook-maid The cook-maid does not require any long mention, as her functions and services are well-known.

(f) The woman who gives Instructions for the proper times of conjunction. A number of Parsees attend to the question of planetary conjunction, &c., for all functions of the marriage.³

¹ *Vide* my book, “The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees,” p. 92.

² *Vide* my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees,” p. 191.

³ *Ibid.* p. 20.

THE BELIEF ABOUT THE DUBBÂ OR THE DROWNING SPIRIT IN INDIA. ITS PARALLEL IN ANCIENT IRÂN.*

(Read on 15th June 1927.)

I.

In the "Man in India" of September and December of 1923 (pp. 196-201), there is an interesting article, entitled "Water Spirits in North Behar" by Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra, the prolific contributor on subjects of Cultural Anthropology in the Journals of our and other societies. The article describes a belief, that various tanks are believed to be inhabited by a *Dubbâ* or Drowning Spirit, which is also spoken of in some places as *Pân dubbâ* (पान डुब्बा) or "the Drowning spirit (*Dubbâ*) which lives in water (*Pân*)."¹ The belief is that "The *Dubbâ* does not kill men for the purpose of feeding upon their corpses, but does so with the sole and express object that the ghosts or spirits of his victims may become his companions and keep company with him" (p. 197). It is also believed, that the "Drowning Spirit" haunts the neighbourhood of some wells and "accosts lone passers-by in the stilly hours of the midnight and to ask from them for *khaini* (powdered tobacco leaf mixed with quicklime) to eat saying with a nasal twang:—खेनि दे खेनि दे (*khaini dê, khaini dê*) or 'Please give me some powdered tobacco to eat.' Should the passer-by be foolish enough to pay heed to this ghostly request and to go near him for giving him the asked-for tobacco, it is believed and said that the ghost will surely seize and kill him" (pp. 197-98).

What we find at the bottom of the belief is, that it is an evil spirit that inhabits the tanks and other collections of water that kills a man falling into them, and not the water itself.

* Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII, No 7, pp. 750-53.

II.

Now, we find a somewhat parallel belief of that kind in ancient Iran, as referred to in the Vendidad of the Parsees. There, in the 5th Chapter (Sect. 8), we read the following question and answer :

၀.၆.၁.၂.၃.၄.၅.၆.၇.၈.၉.၁၀.၁၁.၁၂.၁၃.၁၄.၁၅.၁၆.၁၇.၁၈.၁၉.၂၀.၂၁.၂၂.၂၃.၂၄.၂၅.၂၆.၂၇.၂၈.၂၉.၃၀.၃၁.၃၂.၃၃.၃၄.၃၅.၃၆.၃၇.၃၈.၃၉.၄၀.၄၁.၄၂.၄၃.၄၄.၄၅.၄၆.၄၇.၄၈.၄၉.၅၀.၅၁.၅၂.၅၃.၅၄.၅၅.၅၆.၅၇.၅၈.၅၉.၆၀.၆၁.၆၂.၆၃.၆၄.၆၅.၆၆.၆၇.၆၈.၆၉.၇၀.၇၁.၇၂.၇၃.၇၄.၇၅.၇၆.၇၇.၇၈.၇၉.၈၀.၈၁.၈၂.၈၃.၈၄.၈၅.၈၆.၈၇.၈၈.၈၉.၉၀.၉၁.၉၂.၉၃.၉၄.၉၅.၉၆.၉၇.၉၈.၉၉.၁၀၀.

Translation :—O Holy Creator of the Corporeal world ! Doth Water kill man ? Ahura Mazda replied : Water doth not kill man. (The Demon) Astô-vîdhôtu ties him. (Want of) Air¹ carries him away bound. (Then) Water takes him up (to the surface); water takes him down (to the bottom); water casts² him out (ashore). Then birds eat him (i.e., his corpse). Through Fate, it (i.e., the corpse or a part of the corpse) passes up from here, passes below from here.

Similar are the question and answer with respect to Fire, where in it is said that, when a man is (accidentally) burnt, it is not the Fire that causes death, but the Demon Astô-vîdhôtu.

¹ Vaya, vayu, Sans. वायु Pahl. vâi, Guj. vâ, air.

2 Račhayéti from *rich*, Sans. रिच Pahl. rikhtan ريكھن P. rikhtan ريخن Lat. licero, licitare linguere, to leak, to pour out.

should throw away the flesh. The ghost, thus getting what it wanted, ceases to harass him further. Again, another advice, in the case of thus being harassed by a ghost at the dead of night on a road, is, to make water at once. The ghost is believed to dislike the smell of the urine and so leaves the pursuit of the man. Urine of cattle is, for this purpose, believed to have the efficacy of driving away evil spirits. It seems that at first, it was believed to have some efficacy to cure or prevent some physical diseases. Thence, the efficacy was believed to have extended to cases of mental diseases or evils ¹

¹ *Vide* Prof. Eugene Wilhelm's paper on Urine. *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees." See the word Gaomez in the Index.

A NOTE ON THE CUSTOM OF THE INTER- CHANGE OF DRESS BETWEEN MALES AND FEMALES

A custom exists among the different people of the world, wherein members of the two sexes exchange their dress. The males put on the dress of females and the females that of males on various occasions. An interesting article on the subject by Mr. J. Kleiwegg de Zwaan (membre du conseil de direction de l'Institut International d'Anthropologie) appears in the "Revue Anthropologique" (Mars-Avril 1924, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 102-114) under the head of "L'Échange de Vêtements entre Hommes et Femmes" (The Exchange of dress between men and women). The object of this note is to submit a few observations on the origin of this custom.

The important question regarding this custom is: why do people do so? Why do the females change their dress for that of males and vice-versa? The reply is not the same for all cases. As Mr. Kleiwegg de Zwaan says, there are different circumstances which lead people to practise this custom of the exchange of dress; so it is not the same intention which leads different tribes to practise the custom. One tribe or set of people practise it with one view or intention and another with another view or intention. In referring to this custom among a few people, we will examine the different views or intentions which guide the people in the adoption of this custom.

* This paper was read at the Anthropological section of the Science Congress held at Benares in January 1925. Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII, No. 7, pp. 766-74.

The ceremony of circumcision is practised by several people as the ceremony of initiation into the fold of

1. Change of Dress at Initiation. a community at the time of puberty. A change of dress is observed on this occasion among several people. The boys dress themselves as girls and the girls as boys.

(a) Among the Semites circumcision is accompanied with various ceremonies. Three days before the day of circumcision, the young boys (initiates) are entrusted to old men who take them to a wood where they are kept in a hut for six months. Their hair are cut and they are purified. Then young girls adorn them with their (feminine) dress and ornaments. This is done on the day of the operation. But before that, they are beaten with a nettle and bitten by gadflies when they must not express any sense of pain or grief. After circumcision they continue to put on the dress of women. The age of circumcision is seven.

The girls are circumcised on arriving at puberty. The clitoris is cut off a little. They are then dressed in the clothing of their lovers, including their tomahawks.¹ This mutual change of dress by males and females is characteristic.

(b) Similar circumstances are prevalent on occasions of circumcision in Egypt also, but with this difference, that the boys, though they put on the dress of girls, put on their turbans.

(c) Among some tribes of Western Africa, the dress is destroyed after circumcision.

Now Mr. Kleiwegg de Zwaan, following Mr. F. D. E. Van Ossenbruggen, seems to suggest that the origin of this custom lies in the idea of doing an extraordinary thing for an extraordinary thing or custom. The idea is "to do something otherwise than usual (*faire autrement que d'habitude*) with a view to turn the course of events by counter-magic." (*Ibid* p. 103.)

¹ Indian weapons with knots at one end.

Some take it that the custom is due to a desire "to avoid evil spirits and to obtain their kindness." But Van Ossenbruggen does not agree with this view and says, that primitive people adhere to their ancestral habits and called that adherence *adat*.¹ To turn away from *adat* is a sin. So, with some association of ideas, it is thought, that when you² do something which is not your usual custom or habit, you must, in order to avoid the consequences, correspondingly do something which is unusual. Circumcision is something extraordinary. So, in order to avoid the consequences of that extraordinary thing, one must do something extraordinary, and a change of dress from that of male to female or vice versa is such an extraordinary thing.

My view of the origin of the custom is this: In circumcision, there is an idea of sacrifice. The male offers as a sacrifice a part of his genital organ. The idea is, as it were, that of parting, as sacrifice, with the most valued part of one's body, viz. his genital organ. The man shows himself prepared to sacrifice his manhood. Mankind consists of two sexes—the male and the female. Those who are not males are females; those that are not females are males. So, when a man gives up his manhood, he, as it were, ceasing to be a male, becomes impotent as a woman.

There is a similar reasoning in the case of a woman. When she is circumcised, when a part of her clitoris is cut off, she thereby, as it were, sacrifices what is very dear to her, viz., a part of her conceiving organ. She is prepared to cease to be a woman. Thus ceasing to be a woman and losing her sexual organ, and thereby her sex, she falls in the other category, the category of a male. She gives up her womanhood and takes up, as it were, manhood. So far as she ceases to be in a condition of being conceived, she becomes impotent as a woman.

So, I think, the custom of the exchange of dress at the time of circumcision—the male putting on the dress of a female

¹ I think that this word used in Java is Arabic عادت *adat*, custom, habit.

and the female that of a male—symbolizes the above idea. The change of dress shows the male to have sacrificed or given up his manhood and the female her womanhood.

According to Mr. F. D. E. Van Ossenbruggen, among some

tribes in Java, when a child falls ill with a

2. Change of Dress disease like small-pox, they change its name
in illness. and also exchange its dress with that of

somebody else.¹ (a) Some say, that here, the idea is to avoid the evil influence of evil spirits and to draw their good graces. (b) Some take it, that the attack of the disease on the child is the result of some magic; and so, the change of dress serves as a counter-magic. (c) There may also be the idea of deceiving the evil spirit by a change of dress which may lead that spirit to miss its aim of further harm.

I think, it is the second belief that is the origin of this custom of changing dress in illness. We know, that it is believed, that magic can be practised through, and the subsequent evil can be brought upon, by means of one's dress. An evil-minded person may have, by some means, got hold of the smallest part, even a thread of your dress, and may have given it to a sorcerer; and the sorcerer may have, by the medium of that thread, which once formed a part of your dress, brought an illness upon you. So, to do away with that illness, do away with the old dress altogether, so that the link may be broken altogether.

Then one may say, let the dress be changed, but why the necessity of exchanging it with that of another person? The reply, I think, is to complete the deception and throw the sorcerer, and, through him, the evil-minded enemy altogether out of scent.

I remember a well-dressed and respectable looking Mahomedan coming to me when I was a young man of about 25 and requesting me to get a suit of dress prepared for his new-born

¹ Ibid, p. 102.

child and present it to him. On asking the reason, he said his new-born children did not live long and so he was advised to give to the next new-born child a suit of dress which he may have acquired by begging from some other good man. This was an extraordinary thing and I remember my good mother preventing me presenting a dress lest the extraordinary procedure may bring some evil upon myself.

Among some tribes, for example, among the Yerunkala tribe of meridional India, a male puts on a female's dress when the woman is under pains at the time of delivery. In another tribe, this is done early after delivery. This is a case of a kind of *couvade*, wherein the husband goes to bed with the new born child. Among some tribes of British India, the male, not only puts on female's dress, but also the characteristic mark of women on the forehead. He then lies on bed in imitation of a woman under accouchement.

Among some tribes, it is believed that such a change of dress produces qualities of the other sex. When a tree is barren or sterile, it is spoken of as male, and, in order to make it fruitful, they put on it the dress of a female.

In Thuringe, the females put on the dress of their husbands just before delivery. In Ireland, some women do this with a view to give expression to the idea, that the husband also takes a part in the pains of delivery. By this expression her own pains are partly relieved.

Several other instances are given. In Berne, the woman puts on military dress at the time of delivery with a view to lighten her pains. In some parts of France, a woman puts on the night-cap of her husband to stop an abundant flow of menses. Among a tribe of the Netherlands Indians, the woman places the dress of her husband on the spot, on which she rests herself to deliver. In some parts of Europe, the woman who wishes

to have a male child, puts on the belt of her husband and lays under her pillow his pantaloons and his hat. This custom is still prevalent in Lemousin. Louise Bourgeois, a midwife of the Queen of France, wrote in her book of midwifery in 1626, that, in order to secure a safe delivery, the delivering woman should put on her husband's hat on her bosom. Dionis, the author of "*Traité général des accouchements*", says a similar thing. Some Japanese women, even now, put on the belt of their husbands at the time of delivery. In these cases, it is believed that this practice facilitates the delivery and regulates the menstruation afterwards.

I agree with Mr. Kleiwegg, that the practice signifies the desire to have masculine strength at the time. This inference is strengthened by the fact, that among some people, the woman is given to drink at the time the water in which the husband's dress is soaked for some time.

In Sumatra, in case of delayed difficult deliveries, it is believed that the woman must have brutalised her husband. So, as medicine, they make her drink some water with which his drawers are washed.

The view that the custom of changing the dress by a woman in accouchement has its origin in having a masculine idea of manly strength, is supported by what we see nowadays round us. We see nowadays some ladies dressing when riding in a somewhat masculine riding dress. Again they are giving up ladies' side-saddles. This practice can only be explained by the view that the ladies, who do so, believe, that thereby, they attain a kind of masculine strength to ride well.

In the north-eastern parts of Scotland, a new born boy is dressed in the chemise of a girl and a new born girl in the chemise of a boy. In this case, the custom is said to be the result of a belief, that, thereby a wish is expressed that the child may not remain a celibate. The chances

4. Change of Dress
of a new-born
child,

of a possible celibacy are avoided. Here also, the custom may be due to the belief, that thereby an evil-minded person, or his sorcerer, is deceived. On hearing of the birth of a male or a female child, the sorcerer may have been led to practise his magic and do harm to the manhood or the womanhood of the child, but, by this impersonation of the opposite kind of dress, he is defeated in his machinations.

It is said that, among the Brahmins of Gujarat, the father of the bridegroom puts on for the wedding the
 6. Change of Dress on Marriage occasions. dress of a woman over (par-dessus) his own dress and covers himself with red powder.

After being thus dressed, he goes with the bride and bridegroom to a cross-way, supposed to be haunted by evil spirits and remains there for some time during which some young people make offering of food to the gods.

The object seems to be a kind of vicarious deception. Instead of the bridegroom or the bride practising the deception to avoid an evil eye on such an auspicious occasion as marriage, it is the father of the bridegroom, who does so on behalf of his children. Here, the red powder is intended to further draw away the evil spirits, because red powder is repugnant to them.

In some tribes, the males put on the dress of females, while saying their prayers to their gods. The
 6. Change of dress at the time of prayer. reason is a reflex of their view of life. It is said that these tribesmen never reject the desires or wishes of their females. So they take it, that if they could pray to their gods, dressed as women, the gods would not reject their prayers but would accept them as the prayers of a woman.

What we see at the bottom of these practices is a kind of attempt to deceive an evil-minded person, who tries to do harm in some way or another to the person trying the deception. We find an illustration of such an attempt even nowadays. An eminent archæologist of

France had to spend several months in Persia on excavations at Susa and adjoining places. He was accompanied by his enterprising wife. This lady, in order to avert the curiosity and the consequent risk of being the victim of evil-minded persons who may think of taking advantage of her occasional helpless feminine position and attack her, put on the dress of a man. Here is a case of honest, well-meant deception in self-defence.¹

P. S.—After reading the paper, I made inquiries, if any practice of the change of dress existed among Hindus. Rao Bahadur P. B. Joshi says—

“There is no mention in any of our Shastras or Sanskrit works about the interchange of dress between males and females. But a custom prevails among certain castes, of dressing boys like girls in order to avoid evil influences. The custom still prevails, among the higher classes, of putting a nose ring in the nose of boys to avoid the peril of death or sickness and such boys are named *Nāthyā* i. e., nose-ringwallas.”

This information of Rao Bahadur Joshi reminds me of a custom, occasionally observed in my younger days, of Parsi boys being allowed to grow up with clusters of hair like *cholla* (i. e., tufts of hair like those of women) which gave them the look of girls. These tufts of hair were removed at a certain grown up age. At the time of their removal, parents, at times, took the children to Udwada where they have the oldest of the sacred fire-temples of India. On the removal of the hair, the child was taken to the Fire-temple for worship. This shows that some extraordinary or something like religious importance was given to the custom, it seems that the idea at the bottom of this custom was to create a kind of deception for the time being that the child was a girl and not a boy—a boy being held dearer than a girl. There may be evil-minded

1 I remember seeing the lady in Paris, where also she continued to put on the dress of a male which she had assumed in Persia. It was a pleasure to hear her speak Persian well.

persons who, learning that the mother was fortunate to have a male child born to her, may cast jealous eyes or evil thoughts at her good fortune and at the child; so, to avoid this, the boy was allowed to grow up partly as a girl. Possibly, at one time, there may be the custom of dressing the boy wholly as a girl upto a certain age, and the present custom of only keeping the tuft of hair as that of women may be a relic of that custom. It is something like what I have elsewhere termed "a shortening process."

Again, this reminds me of a practice resorted to, at times, by people in case of male children being born. The near relatives close by, at the time of delivery, give out, at the time of the birth of a boy, false information to people outside, and say that the child born was a girl. This is done with a view to avoid the evil thoughts of some evil-minded persons against the good fortune of the mother to have a boy born to her and not a girl.

Mr. S. S. Mehta informs me, in reply to my inquiries, that some lower classes of Hindus put on the dress of women and dance and make merry on two holidays, the Holi Holiday and the Ganesh Mohotasva festival. This is done sometimes in response to a vow that they would put on female dress and dance. Again, Mr. Mehta adds, that, during the Navratra (nine nights) holidays, sacred to the nine leading female deities, men perform the Bhawai¹ performance from Aswin 1st day to the 15th bright half which days fall in October. In these performances, men dress themselves, as females, because the performances are "dedicated to the nine female deities in whose presence it is supposed that no male member can go to make himself merry; so, all males attire themselves as females." Again, in the Deccan, the Ganesh Mohotaswa

¹ For this Bhawai performance, *vide* Mr. S. S. Mehta's "ભવાઈ વિશે વિવેચન" (1904).

falls during the first fortnight of Bhadarpad—September—and lower classes, generally those that are illiterate, indulge in this change of dress.”

Mr. Mehta further informs me in his letter of 29th August 1927 as follows—

“Under vows to Female Deities, especially when daughters are scarce and do not have long life or when some daughters have been unhappy in their married lives, females are made to go about in male dresses and then when again vows are carried out successfully, they go to the temple of the Deity in some holy place and do off their artificial dresses.”

For a more full treatment of the subject, one may find the chapter on the “Theory of Change and Exchange” in Crawley’s *Mystic Rose* very interesting (*The Mystic Rose*, by Ernest Crawley, a new Edition by T. Besterman, Vol. I, pp. 317-75.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY AS OBSERVED IN A GOVERNMENT HOUSE RECEPTION.¹

INTRODUCTION.

I had the pleasure of delivering my first Presidential address, on 5th February 1915, when I retired from the chair given to me in the year 1914 and when I handed it over to Sir Claude Hill. This is my second Presidential address, and, while retiring, I repeat my thanks to the council for doing me the honour for the second time. I now retire with pleasure to my Secretaryship, which, not counting a previous short tenure of temporary occupancy as acting Secretary, I have been holding since 1901. I take this opportunity to thank all my colleagues for the kind help they have given me in my work during these 26 years. I beg to thank Dr. R. N. Ranina for kindly acting for me as secretary during the past year.

Following the precedent of some of the past Presidents, I have to deliver my Presidential Address. I will speak to-day at first on the subject of our Society's work during the past years and my connection with it, and then I will speak on "Cultural Anthropology as observed in a Government House Reception."

I.

I hand over the chair to-day to one, who has been a worthy successor to all the educational activities of one of our past Presidents, Dr. Mackichan, to whom let us all send our greetings and good wishes in his retirement. Principal Mackenzie has, as the Professor and Principal of one of our old colleges, the Wilson

¹ Delivered on retiring from the Chair on 2nd February 1927. Journal, Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol XIII, No 8. pp 779-802.

College, and as an active member of the Senate of our University, made his mark upon the educational work of our city and presidency, and so we welcome him with very great pleasure at the helm of our affairs.

I am sorry to note that the literary activity of Bombay, as expressed by its literary Societies, is not what it once was. The attendance at the meetings of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, of our Society, and of such other literary societies is generally small. This may partly be due to the fact of our having now-a-days more gymkhanas and clubs than before. Again, the activity of a community, city or country generally takes the course of "the least resistance." Political activity, being one of that kind, attracts many of our young educated men. But let our rising young friends remember, that quiet studies of any one of the subjects handled by such societies, in the retired corners of the societies' rooms and in the sequestered nooks of their homes, will, in the end, make them, at the proper time, better politicians than otherwise. In the long run, the best politician will be one, who will look to political questions from all points of view, who, with a steady mind, will know well to weigh all questions and to shift all evidence that come before him. Quiet studies in connection with such societies, where one has to weigh and shift evidence in the matter of theories, hypotheses, etc., will train him for the work of being a good politician. The quiet, sequestered and rather dark corners of study-rooms will train them to be better workers, when they will have to work in limelight. So, under the circumstances, if not anything else, the presence at our helm of our President-elect who guides and instructs hundreds of our students will, I hope, give some inspiration and encouragement to many students.

Again, we are sorry to find that the number of members of what are called, "official scholars" is falling in our city as elsewhere in India. At one time, it were they who founded and

helped our literary societies, but now they are few and far between. They submit the plea of being over-worked in office-matters. So, we may appeal to them to turn to our literary societies for a kind of recreation. The literary and scientific work in connection with societies like ours will very likely give them a good diversion. They will be better officials if they will try to be good "official scholars", especially in the line of Anthropology. I will here draw their attention to what the London Academy said, while taking a brief notice of our Silver Jubilee Memorial Volume. It said: "If Government officials in India are sometimes caught napping through want of knowledge of the people of the country, their manners, customs, peculiarities, etc., this voluntary Society is at hand to supply information of a miscellaneous and searching character. The Society has an official Englishman as President,¹ but the writers are nearly all natives of India, well-educated men who ought to be able to get at the correct facts which they certainly can present in good style.....The Silver Jubilee Number contains special contributions. The History of the Society shows good work done for twenty-five years"² There was a time when many officials, from the Governors downwards, were "Official scholars." In our city, the names of Governors like Sir John Malcolm, Jonathan Duncan and Elphinstone, are well known as those of "Official Scholars." Well, we know, that now, in times of heavy gubernatorial work, and what we may call, social work accompanying it, we may not expect our Governors, and even our high officials to be "Official Scholars," but we expect them to join us, at least, to help and encourage us

It was only last week (24th January) that we read the following in our local "Times of India": "The old generation of official scholars seems to have passed without leaving successors; our cities are given up to the pursuits of wealth and what

¹ Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I C S., C.I.E., was the President during the Jubilee year.

² The Academy of 6th April 1912, pp. 429-30.

is misnamed 'pleasure' without a thought of those great cultured activities lacking which man is nought but a poor stunted creature." If you will kindly let me continue in the words of the above advocate of culture, I will say in a modified form, in his words : " A great opportunity and a great obligation lie " on unofficial Bombay and on this Society as the first of its kind in the whole of India, "to raise our life above these sordid surroundings and create " on the platforms of this Society, of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society and of such other literary and scientific societies, " a great cultural centre." But in this work of making Bombay "a great cultural centre," at least of the Bombay University, " a strong stimulus " from the Bombay Government is necessary. But we are sorry to find, that what little stimulus was given us has been withdrawn. Our Society used to get Rs. 500 every year as a grant from the Government since the official year 1913-14. The grant was increased to Rs. 1,000 from 1922-23. But the whole of the grant has been withdrawn from last year on the ground of observing economy in the expenses of the Presidency. Out of all the Presidencies, Bombay is the only Presidency which has an Anthropological Society in its midst. Bombay Government has more than once asked the help of our Society.¹ Literary Journals like the Athenæum and the Academy have appreciated our work. The Athenæum, while reviewing my " Anthropological Papers," Part I, and recommending my volume 'to every scholarly student of India,' asked "anthropologists in general" to "note this welcome sign of the activity of their brethren of the Anthropological Society of Bombay."² The Academy once said: "The Papers of this Society should be more widely known."³ Mr. R. E. Enthoven, a distinguished Government official, the author of "the Tribes and Castes of Bombay" has appreciated the help he has received from

¹ Vide Journal, vol. VII, No. 2, p 147.

² Vide The Athenæum of 13th July 1912, pp. 43-44.

³ Vide The Academy of 10th October 1912, pp. 515-16.

some of our members.¹ Again, Sir Alfred Hopkins, the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester, has, in his Report as an expert invited by our University for advice,² recommended encouragement to the study of Anthropology. The Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland also has recommended to the Government of India, for encouragement, the subject of anthropology. I have once quoted in my first address, and quote here again, what the authorities of the Anthropological Institute said :

“In the first place we have to represent that anthropology, not in the restricted sense of physical anthropology alone, but in the broader significance of the science of the evolution of human culture and social organisation, should be an integral feature of the studies of the Oriental Research Institute. My Council desire.....to refer in passing to the importance of anthropological study from an administrative or political point of view, and to its bearings on the difficult and peculiar problems which confront the Government of India at every turn. To discover, to discuss, and to decide the nature and origin of the deep-seated differences of thought and mental perspective between Eastern and Western societies is a task of high importance and of great complexity, which seems possible of achievement only by the wide synthetic methods of modern Anthropological science by which the results won by workers in the domains of religion, archæology, history, art, linguistics and sociology are unified, classified and co-ordinated. As the writings of men like Sir Herbert Risley, some time President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Sir Alfred Lyall, and Sir George Grierson, demonstrate beyond a doubt, a comprehensive examination of present-day Indian conditions reveals the working of social ideas and ideals which have their origin in a low level of culture. Among the people of India to-day are preserved beliefs, customs, and institutions which testify to the

¹ Introduction p. XIX.

² Vide his Report, dated London, 1st May 1914. Appendix IV, p. 3

vital intimacy of the relations between the higher and the lower forms of culture, and to the special importance of India as a field for anthropological research.”¹

In spite of all this, the grant of a small sum of Rs. 1,000 has been stopped, and that, not in any ignorance of these facts, because we had officially placed them before the then Minister of Education, and I had personally interviewed the Minister and the Secretary of the Educational Department. They said, that their hands were forced by the question of economy; so, let us hope that, on the very first approach of better financial conditions our small grant is renewed.

As for us, let us forget this small temporary discouragement. Let us look straight and work. Let us not be discouraged for having few members. Let us do our best, as long as we can. On this occasion I remember with pleasure the words of encouragement uttered by the late lamented Sir Narayan Chandawarkar, who occupied for years the chair by my side as the President of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, and by whose side, on the chair which I now occupy, I used to sit for a number of years drawing inspiration from his good self. After the celebration of our Silver Jubilee, which was presided over by Sir Basil Scott, our former Chief Justice, he wrote in the “Times of India” of 14th February 1922, an appreciative article, headed “Anthropology: Its study in Bombay.” He wrote :

“It is a historical fact that the basis of the study and encouragement of antiquarian research and Anthropology and Philology was laid in Bombay by Sir James Mackintosh..... That was a period in the history of Bombay when antiquarian research and the study of Philology and Anthropology had become, under the influence of German scholars,

¹ Letter of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute, dated 18th April 1913, to the Secretary of State for India, a copy of which was sent to the Society.

a passion with many more scholars than now They (some scholars) concluded that this dip into the misty past was of no practical value and was the pastime or vanity of mere fools and dreamers. People wanted to become more practical Mr. Telang made it his duty to do his best to stem the tide of the rising prejudice against the study in question. So he wrote a learned essay meeting the arguments of the opponents of the study Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar defended the cause and the practical value of Philology, Anthropology and Antiquarian research in an animated speech The study I am writing of has waned more or less since those days, owing to causes and influences which I hope are of a temporary nature. There are always an ebb and a flow in every department of thought and life—what historians and philosophers call the periodicity of progress All honour to them for their work of love in this special department of scholarship, for of Anthropology, no less than of any other subject of knowledge and research, it is true that those who pursue and encourage it are men for all ages and all countries. The idea has often struck me as I have at times perused some of the papers read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Anthropological Society and the Wilson Philological Lectures, that their writers have collected and given to the world a mass of information which, amidst the details, the multiplicity and variety, the apparent disconnection and even dullness, has a golden line of unity which must help and be of practical value to the philosopher, the scientist, the statesman and the sociologist by helping them to understand aright the past of man's slow growth in society—and it is the past that makes the future. Bergson, the French philosopher of the present day, in his 'Creative Evolution' tells us that there is no such thing as the present and that we live in the past and for the future. That seems a paradox but life itself is a paradox. We must understand the past aright to guide us now and build for the

hereafter. Our languages, our customs, our manners, our prejudices, our everything have come out of the past; and our Philologists, our Anthropologists, our Antiquarians are doing us practical service by enabling us to see, if we have eyes to see, what, and how we have come to be what we are. What if these unrequited servants of Society, to whom their work and study are of love, are not acknowledged as doing practical service? True utility is beauty and the true beauty is the beauty of knowledge, understanding that word in the sense of well-knowing and right-doing. That is the claim deserved by the Anthropological Society, which celebrated its Silver Jubilee last week. May it flourish and live to celebrate its Golden and Diamond Jubilees and its centenaries! Such Societies are verily of the soul of a people—what is not of that soul is mere body which must perish."¹

I am tempted to quote at some length the above words of a great good man of our city with a view, that they may catch the eye and ears of our Minister of Education and that he may kindly renew our grant, and, I am sure, that the Legislative Council will accept his proposal of the grant, when it will see, that the work of the Society was so appreciatively recognized by one, who presided at the Council's deliberations and guided it with discretion and judgment, during its first few years.

Before I pass on to the subject proper of the address, let me say a few words on the subject of the deaths, during the past year, of two of our past distinguished members who had done us very good service. In the death of Sir Basil Scott, the late Chief Justice of our city, we have lost a distinguished member, who had acted as our Secretary for six years (1886—1891), and who, though he was called by his profession to other activities, was still one who took an interest in our work. He evinced this interest on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Society when he presided at its celebration.

¹ Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. IX, No. 6, pp. 395—402, for Sir (then Mr.) Narayan Chandavarkar's letter.

In the death of Mr S. M. Edwardes, we have lost a past member who was our President for four years¹ and who was an asset of the Literary activity of Bombay. He was one who added lustre to that chosen group from the distinguished Indian Civil Service, which has done useful service in the cause of Oriental learning. I remember to-day with pleasure, not only the interesting and instructive evenings I passed with him on the platforms of this Society and of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, but also the few hours and days I worked under his direction, as a Volunteer-worker in the census operations of 1901, when he was at the head of the Census operations of our city and when Mr R. E. Enthoven, who still takes a kind interest in our work, was at the head of the Census operations of our Presidency. During my last visit of Europe, I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Edwardes more than once, in connection with the arrangement for my papers before the Folk-Lore Society and the Anthropological Institute of London,² and then, though not hale and hearty in physical health, I found him full of energy for literary work. I feel his loss, not only as our co-worker, but also as a personal literary friend.

I take this opportunity to note with satisfaction, that during my visit of England, not only our above colleagues and friends like Mr Enthoven and Mr. Edwardes, but other learned—if I may be permitted to use our Parsi word—*hamkârs* (همکار) or co-workers, kindly received me well. Some of them thought of kindly entertaining me, but my stay being shortened, as I was called to Paris for receiving the honour of Légion d'Honneur

¹ From 1905 to 1908 and then in 1910

² I read before the Folk-Lore Society, a paper on "The Vish-Kanya of India, as illustrated by a Persian story" and before the Anthropological Institute, a paper entitled "The Daily life of a Parsee of the 17th Century," as referred to in the *Faraziât-nâme* of Dastur Darab Pahlun.

kindly given to me by the French Government, they could not do so.¹

I take the will for the deed and beg to convey my hearty thanks to these kind co-workers in the fields of Orientalism and Anthropology for their kind appreciation of my humble literary work in connection with this and other Societies.

I may note here for the information of my colleagues, that I had the pleasure of attending on 20th May 1925, a meeting of the Anthropological Society of Paris presided over by Professor Meillet. I was accorded a kind welcome by the President, Prof Meillet, and I did myself the honour and the pleasure of conveying the greetings and good wishes of our Society to our confrères of that Society. For me, it was specially a pleasure to be welcomed by Prof. Meillet because, I remembered with pleasure my first visit of Paris in 1889, when I was a pupil—though that only for one day—of the learned Professor. I had taken one lesson from him in the Cuneiform inscriptions

During my past presidential year, I had the pleasure of representing this Society, together with the University, the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society and the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, at the fourth Oriental Conference at Allahabad, where I had the further pleasure and honour of being elected the president. I had also the pleasure of presiding at the Anthropological section of the Conference. I take the honour of being called upon to preside at such a Conference, which, on its previous sittings at Poona, Calcutta and Madras, was presided over by distinguished scholars like Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar of Poona, Dr. Sylvain Levi of the Institute of France and Mahmopadhyaya Dr. Jha, the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad

¹ In a letter dated 23rd January 1926, Mr. Enthoven said: "I congratulate you on accomplishing your trip successfully. We should have been glad if you would have spared a little more time for your stay in London as one or two old acquaintances were planning a little entertainment....but we could not manage it in the time available."

University, as an honour paid to our Society and to other Societies and to the University of Bombay with whose work I have been associated for these last 40 years.

My connection with this Society has been that of 40 years, during which I have served it twice as its President, for 7 years as its Vice-President, and 26 years as its Honorary Secretary. I am glad and proud of this long connection with this Society. I had the pleasure of reading about 85 papers before this Society, and about 14, as your Delegate, before the Anthropological sections of the Indian Science Congresses and the Oriental Conferences. I can speak only of the quantity, of the number, leaving it to others to speak of their quality. But I beg to note here with pleasure what the late Revd. Dr. L. C. Casartelli, formerly Professor of Iranian languages at St. Bede's College, Manchester, and latterly, Bishop of Salford, said in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* (Vol. VIII No 3, p. 72, April, 1891): "We trust that Mr. Modi will some day collect his numerous essays into a volume, they are worthy of preservation." The London Academy of 14th September 1913, while reviewing my *Anthropological Papers*, Part I, said: "There is much to learn of Indian life from his papers which Mr. Modi should continue to write and publish." As recommended by the Right Revd. Prof Casartelli and as wished by the Academy, I have continued to write and publish my Anthropological papers. Since their writing the above, I have published two more volumes of my Anthropological papers and one more, the fourth is in the Press. As your Secretary, I have always taken care, not only to carry on the work of the Society, but to make our Society something like a Bureau of Information to all inquirers on Indian Anthropological subjects. I tender my thanks to all the assistants who had worked under me during the past years and to my present assistant, Mr. Khodabax Edaljee Punegar, B.A., who has been serving us since 1924.

II

I now come to the second part of my subject. Of the two main branches of Anthropology—the Physical and the Cultural—we of Bombay are working mostly in the field of the second, the Cultural. In the study of this branch, our vast country presents to us many materials. Our modern culture is the heir of past ages. Edmond Burke has said “People will not look forward to posterity who never look backward to their ancestors.” Our modern culture has come down to us not only from the cultured ancients, like the Greeks and the Romans, the Babylonians and the Assyrians, the Indians and the Iranians, and such other civilized nations, but also from the preceding primitive people. Even the savages had their rude unsophisticated culture and they also have handed down their quota to the past ages. The cultures of the above ancient nations had an association with the crude culture of the primitive people. Evolution plays its part in Nature, not only on the physical side but also on the mental or intellectual side. Just as the whole physical world has evolved and is evolving from primitive conditions of the past, so, the whole mental or intellectual world has evolved and is evolving from the past. Thus there rises the question as to how far most of the customs and ceremonies, which are observed nowadays and which lead us to form our views about culture, had their first origin in the life of the primitive people of prehistoric times and in the life of the people of succeeding civilized times.

The welfare of a country or nation depends upon the condition of its three institutions : 1 The Church, 2 the State and 3 the School, or to speak in ordinary words, upon 1 Religion, 1 Government and 3 Education. The last, viz., the School or Education, prepares the people for duties in connection with the Church or Religion and the State or Government, or to speak more broadly, for duties in Society. So, varying our phraseology we may say that the welfare of a community, nation or

country depends upon the conditions of its Religion, Government and Society.

Among the sub-divisions of Cultural Anthropology, religion, though placed last in the list, is not the least. Religion is variously defined by Divines and other scholars, but for our purpose, this definition will do, that "Religion is that which treats of the relations of Man to his maker and to the surrounding world." In this sense, we have not to consider this religion or that religion, we have not to think of individual religions like Christianity or Mahomedanism, Brahmanism or Buddhism, Confucianism or Zoroastrianism, but religion in the broad sense of the word, the religion of all religions. They say a story of a scholar of England, that he once met at Paris, M. Renan, the author of "Vie de Jesus Christ," which was condemned by some as a heretic book, and another French philosopher. In the conversation that ensued, the French scholars said, that in French they had done away with religion. The English scholar coolly asked; Whether they had kept anything or replaced anything in the place of religion which, they said, they had destroyed? "Yes," they replied, we have only kept "Les trois mots, le Dieu, l'ame et la responsabilité" ("Three words—God, soul and responsibility"). Then the Englishman said, that if they kept these three things, they kept religion.

In science, "the most fundamental postulate is the Uniformity of Nature despite all appearances to the contrary." In religion, this fundamental is, that "Universal goodness lies at the heart of things despite all appearances to the contrary." Now, taking Religion in the broad sense of the word, we find many a custom, ceremony, ritual or symbol, common to Religion, State and Society. So, the question is where have those common customs begun? Have they begun first in Religion and then passed into State or Society or vice versa? Our reply is, that generally it is the Church or Religion from which many a custom has passed into State and Society.

We can illustrate this view, to a certain extent, from what we see at a Government House Reception in Bombay. When you next go as a guest to the Government House Reception, stand in a corner of the reception room, watching the arrival of His Excellency the Governor and the presentation of guests and the various functions accompanying these. You may then muse and ponder, meditate and ruminate over the kaleidoscope that passes before you from an anthropological point of view. A Government House Reception—and by a Government House, you may understand if you like, the palace of an Emperor or a King or the House of his honoured representative like the Governor—is, as it were, a typical *rendezvous*, where you see, in a focus, much of the culture of modern civilized society. You see from your corner, where you stand musing as a student of cultural anthropology, the following functions, one by one, and you ponder over them :

1. The Reception or Levée as a whole.
2. The Band playing and announcing the arrival of the Governor.
3. His Excellency the Governor's entrance into the Hall, accompanied by his Courtiers or Officers.
4. Presentation of Arms.
- 5 His passage over a specially spread red carpet.
6. The Presentation of the guests. When the guests pass, one by one, the following will draw your attention :—
 - (a) Hand-shaking
 - (b) Their Dress.
 - (c) Their distinguishing marks, if any.
 - (d) Their salutations.

We will now examine these different parts of the state ceremonial.

First of all, the Reception held by the Royalty, or by a Representative of the Royalty like the Governor of a country or province, supplies an instance of the influence of Church and its ritual on State and Society and on their ritual, i e., on the etiquette, the manners and customs observed in State and Society.

Our present Bombay Receptions have replaced what were known as Levées about two decades ago and they are generally held, like the Levées in the beginning of the season,—mark the word season, which is always associated with the movement of the Sun—that is some time after the return of the Governor to Bombay after an absence for some months spent at Mahableshwar and Poona. So let us begin our subject with the question of Levée, as to what it is like.

There are various schools or theories about the Origin of Belief and custom, or, to speak in our ordinary language, of Religion and Religious customs or ceremonies. These schools have their following theories :

1. The Solar Theory.
2. The Meteorological Theory.
3. Spirit Theory.

The late Prof. Max Müller seemed to believe in the first theory, according to which in primitive men—men who lived in open air and who thus saw and experienced the influence of the Sun very frequently,—the thoughts of God, of the highest Power, were found from their observance of the sun. Now, the word *Levée* is associated with the rising sun. Formerly levées were held in the *morning* after sunrise. Beeton thus speaks on the subject : “Levée (Fr. lever to rise) properly denotes the time of rising, and is commonly applied to the visits which princes and other distinguished personages receive in the morning. It is specially applied in this country to the stated public occasions on which

the sovereign receives visits from persons of *rank or fortune*. A *levée* differs from a drawing room only in that ladies are admitted to the latter but not to the former.”¹

Now, just as the rising sun opens the day when thousands and thousands of people, especially in the East, bow with lowered heads, out of respect, to the Sun, so, the king or prince opened his Court-day appearing before his court in brilliant dress, when a number of his courtiers bowed to him. Here, in our city, our Governor who was long absent from Bombay, who had, as it were, set, in relation to Bombay, rises or re-appears in the beginning of the cold season and appears before his subjects, or to speak more properly, before the subjects of his king whose representative he is, and receives the salutation, the homage, the worship of the people. He appears, as it were, like the sun, and thousands of visitors or worshippers gather to greet or worship him.

One of our distinguished past Presidents, Mr. R. E. Enthoven, had, for his Presidential address, delivered on 3rd March 1911, taken up the subject of “Campbell's Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom.” In that interesting address, he has referred to the above anthropological view of the custom of holding annually a *Levée*. He says: “According to this school (i.e. the Solar theory school), the published record of the holding of the *levée* is clearly nothing more than one of the many sun myths that are so common in the religion and superstition of the East. *Levée* is derived from a French word *lever*—to raise; whence *se lever*—to rise. ‘*Lever du soleil*’ means sunrise; and hence *levée*. The Governor's appearance at this function among the State dignitaries, therefore, typifies the rising of the sun. His gorgeous uniform represents the sun's brilliance”.²

¹ Beeton's Science, Art and Literature. A Dictionary of Universal information, 2nd edition, Vol. II. p. 253.

² Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. IX, No. 3, p. 195.

Standing in a corner of the Reception-hall, you expect the Luminary to appear on the horizon, *i.e.*, you expect His Excellency to appear, shortly. There plays the Band and you learn that he is coming. The Band announces his approach.

2 The Musical Band

Compare with this item in this social or gubernatorial ritual, what you see in a custom of our Eastern Courts—the custom of playing what is called the *naobat*. *Naobat* (نوبت) is a Persian word meaning time. Then, it has come to mean “a musical band playing at stated times before the palace of a king or prince.”¹ The word has then also come to mean “a large state tent for giving audience.”²

The custom, as observed in Persia and in Indian Native States even now, is that a musical band, consisting of drum and other musical instruments, plays, at sunrise and sunset, a particular tune, thus announcing the rising and the setting of the great Luminary. We know that illustrious persons, for example, Bacon and Newton, are spoken of as luminaries. So, in our Government House Reception, the Governor is the luminary, the sun, and his rising, *i.e.*, appearance among us, is announced by the Band playing the *naobat*. Similarly, his setting, *i.e.*, his departure from amongst us, is announced by the *naobat* or the playing of the Band.³

¹ Steingass's Persian Dictionary

² Ibid. Abu Fazal says of Akbar: “When His Majesty holds court they beat a large drum, the sounds of which are accompanied by Divine praise” (Blochmanu's *Ani-i-Akbari* I, p 157.)

³ In our British military cantonments also, you see the ritual, especially that of the Band playing and announcing, the sunsets. I had the pleasure of seeing the ritual, in its full form, on 26th and 27th April 1925 at Gibraltar which is a great military fort of the old type. There, at sunset, a military band goes to the place of the Commander of the Fort to receive from him the key of the fort to close the fort. Though now, owing to the increase of population the Fort is not closed after sunset, the ceremony is performed symbolically.

procession. His consort, Her Excellency, is the Moon, and the officers of his staff are his satellites.¹

The presentation of some symbolic things at the entrance, plays a prominent part in many functions.

⁴ Presentation of Arms to the Governor. In India, when brides and bridegrooms enter into a house on special occasions, water, cocoanut, rice, &c., are presented before them as symbols with one idea or another. They are passed over in a tray over their heads and then lowered and thrown away. All these are a kind of symbolic expression of good wishes for prosperity and for the removal of calamities, if any overtake the party.

Now, in cases like those of Governor's receptions, when the guards present arms, that is a symbolic expression of their readiness to do duty to avert any calamities or difficulties that may befall the recipients of the honour. Let us note here the signification of the word "arms". An "arm" originally is "the limb of the human body which extends from the shoulder to the hand" and then it has also come to mean "a weapon of offence or defence."² The arms of the body were the weapons with which the earliest primitive men fought. It was with their own bodily arms that they defended themselves and their near and dear ones. The arms (or weapons) made out of wood or such other materials were a later invention. Just as at a festive board, the use of forks with its finger-like prongs, is a later form in the evolution of the process of eating, replacing fingers to a certain extent, so wooden or metal implements or arms are a later form in the evolution of the process of fighting. Now, what do the guards signify by presenting arms? They were holding up arms, and on the arrival of the Governor, they present their arms to signify, that their bodily arms and their whole bodies, were, as it were at the service of the Governor, and that

¹ For some further particulars about processions, *vide* my Paper on "A Devil-driving Procession of the Tibetan Buddhists as seen at Darjeeling and a few Thoughts suggested by it," read on 24th June 1914 (Journal of Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, No. 3, pp 209-28. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part II, pp 124-43).

² Webster.

they were always ready to defend him whenever and wherever required. The modern presentation of arms is something like the offer of the ancient Iranians to their kings or superiors to put on their sash or girdle. For example, we read of the Persians of Pars, offering their services to the Sassanian king Ardeshir Babegân (Artaxerxes I) by saying that they would put on their sash and girdle,¹ to serve him. Here, the guards presenting their arms say something similar, viz., that they are ready to defend the Governor, if required.

This symbolic presentation of arms may also admit of another explanation like that of the officers presenting their swords before the Governor when they are presented to him. We will speak of this later on.

In such State gatherings, a special carpet is spread for the Governor to pass upon. At times, the carpet or red Turkey cloth is spread over the place a short time before the arrival of the Governor, so that it may not be spoilt by the dirty feet of other guests. As, being a luminary for the time being, he is the purest, the most cleanly, the holiest of all, so a pure and clean passage must be provided for him. They say, that in some holy churches of Rome, there were special entrances for His Holiness the Pope. That entrance was first opened occasionally for him to enter through. In one of the churches of Rome, which I had the pleasure of visiting, there were two entrances, one for the general entry and one for what we may call a "private entry" or a sacred entry. The steps of the latter were called "scala sancta" or sacred ladder. The worshipper who wanted to enter by that entrance had to ascend, not on their feet, but on their knees. Hâtim Tai, a holy personage of Mahomedanism, is said to have walked, not on ordinary unholy ground, but on silver and golden tablets or bricks which were provided for him. His followers placed before him, these

5 The Governor passing over a special passage covered with red cloth or carpet

¹ The Shah-namêh of Nâcân, Calcutta Ed. Vol. III, p 1375.

و دیگر کہ هستیم سامانیان .: بندیم کین را کمر بر میان

tablets and he stepped over them, and when he advanced over the front ones, the back ones were lifted up and placed in his front again. The Governor is, as it were, for the time being, a holy personage and has, therefore a special carpet provided for him so that he may not place his holy steps on unholy ground.¹ This custom is referred to in an old Malayalam document passed in favour of the Christians on the Malabar Coast. Among several things of honour conferred upon Thomas Cana (Tomman Kineir) one was "the walking cloth²." Mr. T. K. Joseph thus speaks about this cloth in a footnote: "Cloth spread on the way for walking along without touching the ground. Our bishops and bridegrooms still enjoy the privilege. For its use in 1916-17, in Ceylon, see Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1916-17, Part I, p 25. Lengths of white cloth were unrolled along the road for the elephant to walk over." Brahmin bridegrooms are said to walk over such cloth, even now in some parts of our country. Dr. Sven Hedin thus speaks of a similar custom in Tibet. "His Holiness (the Tashi Lama,) leaves the throne and descends the staircase on which a narrow strip of coloured carpet is laid, for the Tashi Lama

¹ In this connection, I am reminded of a Parsee custom in relation to their ritual of consecrated fires. Sacred consecrated fires are spoken of as Shah or Pâdshah, i.e., a king. We read, in the Âtash Nyâish, "âdârân shâh projgar," i.e., "the Victorious kingly fires." Among what may be called the "Parsee national toasts," one was "Atash Behram pâdshâh ni salâmatî," i.e., "The Safety of the Fire (Atash) Behram, the King." The Fire, being taken as a King, even an âthornân, lit. a priest attending the sacred fire was, at one time, spoken of as "pâdshâh" or king. So, the Sacred Fire, being held in reverence as a king, when it is removed from a place where it was consecrated to a temple where it is to be enthroned, it is carried in a procession and the route is marked by a number of boundary lines within which none other than the two officiating priests entered. These sacred circles, reserved for the king-like sacred fire, were somewhat similar to the red-turkey carpets reserved for the Governor to walk upon. I have described the ritual at some length in my Paper, entitled the Consecration Ceremonies of the Parsees, read before this Society (Vol. XI, pp. 423-544). *See* my book "The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 224-26.

² Indian Antiquary of September 1927, p. 656.

may not touch the unclean earth with his holy feet." (Trans. Himalaya I p. 355).

During the process of the presentation of guests, several things
 6 Presentation draw our attention. The most important
 of Guests are:

- (a) The shaking of hands.
- (b) The various dresses of the visitors.
- (c) Their distinguishing marks.
- (d) Their ways of salutations.

It is an honour to shake hands with the Luminary. He im-
 (a) The Shake of parts, by his condescension, something, be it
 Hands pleasure or honour or good fortune, to the
 persons who shake hands with him. It has been thought from
 olden times, that the person of the King being sacred, a contact
 with his body brings good luck or advantage. That was the
 view, which was held in England upto the last century, when it
 was believed that scrofula which was known as the "King's
 Disease" could be cured by the touch of a king Samuel
 Johnson was believed by his father to be so cured.¹

¹ We read in Lord Macaulay's account of Johnson's life. "He had inherited from his ancestors a scrofulous taint which it was beyond the power of medicine to remove. His parents were weak enough to believe that the royal touch was a specific for this malady. In his third year, he was taken up to London, inspected by the court surgeon, prayed over by the court chaplains and stroked and presented with a piece of gold by Queen Anne. One of his earliest recollections was that of a stately lady in a diamond stomacher and a long black hood. Her hand was applied in vain. The boy's features, which were originally noble and not irregular were distorted by his malady." (Biographies by Lord Macaulay, p. 78). Boswell, in his life of Johnson, says. "Young Johnson had the misfortune to be much afflicted with the scrofula or king's evil, which disfigured a countenance naturally well-formed, and hurt his usual nerves so much, that he did not see at all with one of his eyes, though its appearance was a little different from that of the other... His mother yielding to the superstitious notion, which it is wonderful to think prevailed so long in this country, as to the virtue of the regal touch, a notion which our king encouraged... carried him to London, where he was actually touched by Queen Anne." (Vol. I, pp. 6, 7.)

Holy persons do not shake hands with everybody and anybody. They do not even touch everybody and anybody. They think themselves defiled by such touches of unholy or undesirable persons. We know of cases where people of faiths other than their own, are held to be impure. Old Athens re-consecrated all its temples when the Persian army left Athens, taking it, that the touch or presence of those aliens had destroyed the sanctity of their temples. We hear of instances of olden times when some Indian dignitaries washed their hands after visits to them by foreigners. It is said of King Tehmasp of Persia that when Anthony Jenkinson visited his court as an Ambassador of Queen Elizabeth, knowing that he was a Christian, he purified, not only himself, but all the premises of his palace also, by sweeping sand over it, sand being considered as a purifying material like water.

Thus, the Governor, our sacred luminary, does not shake hands with everybody, but with those, whom he invites as his guests after due inquiry and of whom he knows that they are clean in their character and respectability. God or the Deity is spoken of in India as "Dast-gîr (دستگیر), i.e., the Holder of the hands of his worshippers. The holding of the hand is, as it were, a mark of favour, and an expression of willingness to help. Here, the great luminary, by his shake of hands, gives an expression to his favourable thoughts about his guests.

The subject of Dress, is a fertile subject for inquiry from an anthropological point of view. Mr. W. M.

(b) Dress

Webb, in his interesting book entitled "The Heritage of Dress," gives us an interesting look into the question of the "Evolution of Dress" from its primitive state. What kind of dress did the primitive people put on? The Christian Bible tells us that the primæval Man moved about naked. Then came the dress made of herbage, then that of the skin of wild and domesticated animals, and then that of cotton, woollen and silken cloth. But, even now, if you were to watch

carefully the passers-by in the Government House Reception, you will find, that in their modern up-to-date dress also, there are relics of olden times, and that herbage and skins of wild and domesticated animals play an important part in dresses.

Laying aside the question of the materials of the dresses, the state and the fashions of the dresses of various people, passing before us, make us ponder and even smile a little. We speak of Custom as being a great tyrant, but we find, that Fashion is a greater tyrant than Custom. Again, when we ponder deeply, we find, that our views of culture in dress also change often if not as frequently as fashion. This makes us think of the various phases of culture. When we think of the primitive times, when our ancestors arrived at a period of time when cotton materials began to be used, we find that the primitive dress of our primitive ancestors was something like a mere *chaddar* without sleeves or pajamas. Suppose you are naked in a room and one creeps in suddenly. Then what will you do? You will take up a chuddar, a sheet or a blanket from your bed and will just cover your body for decency. Our modern dress has evolved in one way or another from that primitive condition and that *chuddar* or pieces of cloth like that play a prominent part in the dresses of many people.

Out of all the dresses that pass before us in kaleidoscopic view, the gowns of ladies and the gowns of clergymen draw our attention. Both wear big loose dresses. We find that gowns play an important part on many solemn occasions. Our University graduates and Fellows are required to be dressed in gown. Members of Benches and Bars in our Courts are required to have gowns. Our priests are required to have them. So, ladies also have gowns. The dresses of old Indian ladies, are, though not exactly like gowns, loose dresses like gowns; and in all ages, a loose dress is held to be a dress of dignity, respect and modesty.

Again, in many cases, you read nationalities from the mere looks of the dresses of visitors. Though some of the visitors are

half-dressed in the new European fashion, their head dress points to their religions and castes. Some carry a particular kind of pieces of cloth across their shoulders over their Europeanized coats and trousers. These pieces of cloth symbolized respectability.

The sight of symbolic marks over the foreheads of a number of guests leads us to a number of fresh thoughts over the different religions or sub-divisions of religions and castes. Again, notice, that in case of Indian ladies, the mark is always round, but not so in the case of males. The marks on the foreheads of women symbolize the Moon. Those on the foreheads of males are associated with a kind of Sun-worship. At one time, about 50 years ago, even Parsee ladies put on such marks. I have referred to this subject at some length in my paper on Parsee marriages.¹

Again, watch the different ways of salutations. Europeans and some Indians, who have adopted European manners, simply nod their heads. Some guests raise their hands towards their heads. The Parsees have their particular way of saluting in this manner. Some Hindu guests join both their hands, as is done in worship, and thus perform their *darshan* of the great luminary before whom they pass. Military men have their peculiar way of salaaming. Some who carry swords present their swords before the Governor who touches the swords. Ladies perform what is called courtesy. All these different modes of salutation which we observe at a Reception point to what Herbert Spencer calls "self-surrender." I have referred to this subject at some length in my paper on "Tibetan salutations and a few thoughts suggested by them" read before this Society;² so, I will not say more on this subject in this paper.

¹ Journal of the Anthropological Society, Volume V, No 4, p. 253.

² Ibid Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 165-78. (Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part II, 110-23.)

ZEST IN LIFE.¹

If I do not mistake. I think, I am the oldest member present here to-day, as one belonging to any Introduction.

Anthropological Society or to the Anthropological Section of any Society. My Anthropological Society of Bombay was founded on 7th April 1886 by the late Mr. Tyrrel Lieth, Bar-at-Law, practising in the High Court of Bombay, who was spoken of by Dr. Dymmock, one of the subsequent Presidents, as "a distinguished scholar of versatile talents, a true philosopher, a worthy disciple of the great anthropologist, Aristotle, who was the first to conceive the idea of a gradually ascending scheme of organic life."

The Indian Science Congress, had at first, a separate section for Anthropology, but it was dropped, and it was our Anthropological Society of Bombay, which suggested, by its letter of 16th May 1918, addressed to the then authorities of the Indian Science Congress, that Anthropology may have a special recognition, and, so, have a special section to itself. I am glad to find that the suggestion was adopted in 1921 and this is the third Science Congress after its adoption. It is quite appropriate that, in a Science Congress, Anthropology, spoken of as "the Queen of Sciences," should have its proper place.

It gives me very great pleasure to stand before you, not only as your nominated president, but also as a representative of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, the first, and, up to now, the only Anthropological Society in India. I joined

¹ This paper formed the subject of my Presidential Address, delivered, as the President of the Section of Anthropology in the Tenth Indian Science Congress, at Lucknow, in January 1924 (Vide Journal, Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII, No. 8, pp. 804-816)

the Society as a member shortly after its foundation and have served the Society as its Honorary Secretary for a long period of 23 years, during one of which years, the year 1914, I was elected its President. As one so closely associated with the Anthropological Society of Bombay, I beg to present to you the greetings of my Society and to thank you for calling me to the Presidential chair of the Anthropological Section of this 10th Indian Science Congress. I have accepted this position as an honour, not only to myself, but to my Society, which I have served long and of which I have been one of its oldest members. The Society has, during its existence of 36 years, published, in all, 12 volumes of 8 numbers each. With two more numbers of the running 13th volume, it has published in all 98 numbers. It is with pardonable pride that I note, that out of these 98 numbers, 69 have been published during my Secretaryship and Editorship and that I have read about 75 papers before it.

I have noticed with pleasure, pleasure not unmingled with some regret, what Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, the occupant in 1921 of the chair which I occupy to-day, has said about the work of our Society and of my personal work¹. In spite of our having few "enthusiastic" workers, as referred to by him, our Society has done some valuable work, and I cannot do better than refer to the literary journals like the *Athenæum* and the *Academy* which have appreciated our work (*vide* my Presidential Address before the Anthropological Society of Bombay, delivered on 25th February 1915)

My subject this evening is. "The Zest in life given by the study of cultural Anthropology." The Subject of Address. motto suggested by the founder of our Society was: "Surtout de Zèle," i.e., 'especially, zeal.' That, in which you show some zeal and take a zealous part, is sure

¹ Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol XVII, 1921, No 4. Proceedings of the Eight Indian Science Congress.

to give you zest or pleasure. So, if you will show some zeal in Anthropological matters, that zeal will, in turn, give you some zest in, and add to the pleasure of, your life.

The principal elements in the study of Anthropology which give us pleasure or zest in life are the feelings of Toleration and Sympathy. We are prevented from being intolerant, dogmatic or bigoted. Anthropology teaches us that, under the surface of various beliefs and customs of various people, modern or ancient, cultured or uncultured, in the East or in the West, we find that "Human nature is the same." Again, we learn, that "There is nothing new under the Sun." Your modern up-to-date cultured man has, in some of his manners and customs and in his rules and regulations of the Church, State and Society, much that is a relic of that past, which you call uncultured, and much, in a disguised form, that is common with what you observe, among the uncultured tribes to-day. We are often told, that the East is East and West is West. Speaking from an anthropological point of view that is not strictly true. It would rather be more correct to say that "West was East and East was West." We speak of the Tyranny of Custom, but Fashion, which brings about changes, is not less tyrannous. What is now seen in the 'East' was once seen in the 'West' and what is now seen in the 'West' was once seen in the 'East.' For example, the West, at present, speaks with some intolerance of the customs of the East. Take, for instance the Indian Customs of Suttee, prohibition of Widow Marriage, and, prohibition of Intermarriages. But, we see from Tacitus, that these were prevalent, in one form or another, among the ancient Germans. Again an Englishman, perhaps, sees with great dislike some of the funeral customs and manners of the Indians, but, if he will look into the question with an unprejudiced mind, he will find, that some funeral customs and beliefs of the present India were at one time prevalent in his mediæval England. In one of my papers

before this section, this year, the paper entitled, "The Social Life of a Christian of mediæval England and the Social Life of a Parsi of modern India," I have tried to show this.

We are often tempted to laugh at the superstitious beliefs of some uncultured people of our own country. But, when we go to the bottom of those beliefs and customs, we find that in the best of the drawing-rooms of modern society, we find a kind of reflex of these in a disguised form. All such thoughts make us tolerant and sympathetic, and such tolerance and sympathy add to the pleasure of our life, not only in the midst of cultured people, but also in our wanderings and roving in the midst of the uncultured.

The field of such anthropological studies of interest, which give us pleasure, is vast. So, for my subject to-day, I will take a few typical subjects to show, how the study of cultural Anthropology gives us, at times, both zest and pleasure in life. I will speak on the following typical subjects :—

The Field of such Anthropological subjects of Interest.

1. Superstitions.
2. Omens from the sight and flight of Birds.
3. The idea of a kind of Resurrection lurking under the various methods of the Disposal of the Dead.

We find that some kinds of superstitions pervade all classes of Society, the cultured and the uncultured, the learned and the unlearned, the lower and the higher, in the East and in the West. We find that even people in the higher or cultured classes of society in Europe are not free from what we call superstitions. There are a number of superstitions which are common to Europe and India. For example, take, as typical instances, at first, superstitions connected with sneezing and with the taking of omens from birds.

1. Superstitions.

While travelling in some of the countries of Europe, in 1889, I found, that in several countries, among the ordinary classes, the act of sneezing by a person was accompanied by a kind of blessing from another person, with whom he was talking or who was standing close by. In Sweden, where I had gone to attend the Oriental Congress of that year, when one sneezed, another person close by, uttered "Gud hjelp" (*i.e.* may God help you). Similarly, in Germany, they said, "Gesundheit" (*i.e.* health). In France, they said, "À vous souhaits" (*i.e.* good wishes to you). The Turks said, "Maschalla" (*i.e.* may God be with you). The Greeks said, "Kalli Ejia" (*i.e.* good health). The Arabs are reported to say "Yarahamak Allāh" (يرحمك الله *i.e.* God be merciful with you). All these words remind us of a similar custom on our side. Among us, Parsis, when one sneezes, it is common to hear a Parsi lady close by saying "Jivshê or Jirê (જીવશે, or જીરે) *i.e.* may you live long. Sometimes the good wishes are expressed in rhythmical lines. For example, if a boy, Jamshedji by name, sneezes, his mother would say "મહારો જમશેદજી જીવશે, દરજી વાગા સીવશે" *i.e.* my Jamshedji will live long and the tailor will prepare suits of clothes for him.

It gave me much pleasure in my travels in Europe in 1889, to inquire into the matter of this superstition, and to be interested in its observance. It is said, that at one time, Englishmen also said something of the kind, to wish good health to the person sneezing, but now, it is considered rather indecorous to observe a person sneezing, because it reminded people of a bad event, like an epidemic, referred to below. In a hotel at Vienna, where I stayed, the porter, with whom I was talking at the door of the hotel, bowed before me when I sneezed. On inquiry, I was told, that he bowed out of courtesy and wished me good health. Now, what is the cause of this superstition, common to the West and to the East?

The reason assigned is this: In olden times, an epidemic, somewhat like our modern influenza, spread from one part of the world to another. Thousands died by that dire disease. Sneezing was a sure precursor of the complaint. So, when an epidemic of that kind prevailed, when a person began to sneeze, his friends and relatives close by, got anxious about him, taking it that he was attacked by the disease. So, they prayed for him. They wished him good health and uttered some words of prayer for that purpose. This was the origin of the custom of wishing good to a man when he sneezed. The custom began with the times of a great epidemic. Then, it extended to, and continued in, ordinary sneezing. The good wishes or blessings were not confined to the wishing of good health alone, but were, later on, extended to further good wishes in other directions. For example, once, I heard my hostess of the *pension* where I stayed in Paris, a good old lady, accosting her son when he sneezed, by saying "Dix mille livres de rentes" (i.e. may your annual income be 10,000 livres). We see a similar thing in the above-mentioned words of a Parsi lady, who extended her good wishes of health to a further good wish that the tailor may continue to prepare suits of clothes for the person sneezing.

Sneezing portends both good or evil in India. It is a bad omen when a man is on the point of leaving his house for some business. In order to avert the evil consequence, the person waits for a minute or two, or turns back a little, or takes off his shoes and puts them on again, in order to show that he had given up the idea of the business for some time and resumed it later on. This view of taking a sneeze to be a bad omen seems to have been connected with the above view of the connection of sneezing with a prevalent epidemic.

Among some people, sneezing at ordinary times, other than those of epidemics, is considered to be good. For example, it is said, of some Moguls, that when they catch cold and sneeze after

a long period, they are pleased with the attack, taking it, that cold or sneezing does away with some other physical complaints. So, when they catch cold and begin sneezing they take it as a good omen for future health and send presents of sweets to their friends, as if, that were a good or auspicious occasion. This view of taking a sneeze, as a good omen seems to be very old, as old as the Classical times. Dryden alludes to it, when he says :

“ To these Cupid sneezed aloud,
And every lucky omen sent before,
To meet the landing on the Spartan shore.”

Milton refers to the same belief in his *Paradise Lost*, when he sings :

“ I heard the rack
As earth and sky would mingle ; but
These flaws, though mortals fear them,
As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven
Are to the main, as wholesome as a sneeze,
To men's universe, and soon are gone.”

All this explains, why sneezing has been taken as an evil omen. It is said that, the custom of the clapping of hands just at a particular important juncture in a ritual, for example in marriage, had its origin in the anxiety to avoid an evil omen. If at the most particular juncture of a good auspicious work, some one present sneezes, it portends all evil. So, to avoid any chance of a sneeze being heard at the particular juncture, people clapped their hands for some time to avoid a sneeze, if any, being heard or noticed. I have spoken at some length, on the subject of sneezing to show how anthropological inquiries give us pleasure and zest in life. Go wherever you like, from one end of the world to the other, you will find, that there are certain views which you call superstitions, that are common to the whole world, having generally the same origin.

Like sneezing, there are some other involuntary motions in the different parts of the body, which are believed to point to different consequences, both in India and in Europe. The itching of the nose, the tingling of the ear, the burning in the cheeks, the involuntary biting of one's tongue between his teeth, the movement of the eyelids, are such instances of involuntary motions of the different parts of the body presaging good or bad omens.

Sir James Frazer's "Psyche's Task, a Discourse concerning the influence of superstitions on the growth of Institutions" suggests to us many thoughts arising even from superstitions. Cultured people speak deridingly of superstitions, but in action, they themselves are at times superstitious. Civilization and Advancement generally rest on Respect for (a) Government. (b) Private property, (c) Marriage and (d) Human life. As pointed out by Frazer, among many uncivilized tribes, this respect for the four principal elements of Civilization rests upon their superstitious beliefs.

Uncivilized people believe in the existence of some supernatural power in their Chiefs. This superstitious belief makes them respectful towards the Government of their Chiefs. They honour their chiefs and keep themselves at a respectable distance from them. The English belief of the last century, that scrofula could be cured by a touch of the king, rose from such a belief. The scrofula was therefore called "King's disease," and, even Johnson is said to have believed, that he was cured by such a touch. The old ancient Scotch belief, that the arrival of the Chief of the Macleods in Dunnegall always led to a plentiful catch of the herring, rested on such a belief of some supernatural power in the Chief. The Divine Power of the kings, of which we hear both in the West and the East—more in the East at present—is a result of the old belief. It is said of a woman in an uncultured society that she ate unwittingly

some of the apples touched by the Chief of her Tribe. The idea of sacredness was attached to these apples, thus tabooed by the hand of her Chief. She died of anxiety when she learnt that she ate unwittingly the tabooed apples.

From this point of view, Chiefs of some uncultured tribes do not blow towards fire, because by doing so, they transfer some of their sacredness to the fire itself. The fire, having obtained thereby some sanctity, transferred it to the food that may be cooked over it. If somebody ate the food, thus tabooed by the sanctity transferred to it by the sacred tabooed fire, he was expected to die. Again, if one inadvertantly touches with his hand the body of his Chief or King, and, if, with that hand so sanctified or tabooed, he eats any food, he is expected to die.

In civilized countries, you want a number of statutes or Laws and Rules and Regulations to enforce
 (b) Respect for Private Property. respect for private property. You go to courts of justice for seeking redress in cases of encroachment upon your rights of possession. Among the uncivilized tribes of Africa and elsewhere, their superstitions stand for Laws. They associate a kind of curse with misappropriation of property. So, the mere dread of the curse acted as a check against misappropriation. Thus, we find that the threat of a curse by King Darius against one who meddled with his great Behistun Inscriptions and practised vandalism was as great as that of Lord Curzon's Monument Act in India

Civilized people have various Matrimonial Acts for the preservation of the sanctity of the marriage tie. But several uncivilized tribes of various countries preserved the sanctity of marriage by their belief in a kind of sin associated with the act of adultery, a sin drawing all kinds of evils and miseries. So, they wanted no Matrimonial Acts or Penal Codes to preserve the sanctity of marriage among themselves.

We, who call ourselves civilized, have a number of Penal Codes to prevent and punish murders. But a belief among some uncultured people, that the ghost of a murdered man was sure to avenge the murder of that man, acted as strongly as, or perhaps more strongly than, the Penal Codes.

Thus, we see that in this wide world, even superstitions have their proper field of work, acting against a kind of lawlessness. We must be tolerant even towards superstitions. Our culture need not lead us to the practice of superstitions but must make us tolerant of them. The thoughts entertained in "maiden meditation and fancy fire" in the field of such superstitions, at times, add to the pleasure of life.

At times, it is found difficult to distinguish between religion and superstition. At times, it is a kind of fashion to take all religious-minded men to be superstitious. But it should not be so. The question depends upon how far the sense of the Divine affects a particular man. In some cases, the sense of the Divine oppresses a man with the thought that God is strict with him or is displeased with him. To do away with that displeasure associated with some idea of oppression, man resorts to some unnecessary practices of propitiation, etc. This sense of the Divine leads one to various superstitions. The best way for a cultured man is that of reciprocal love. God loves us, so, let us love Him; or putting it in another form. Let us love God for His own sake and He is sure to love us.

The custom of taking omens from the flight of birds presents another instance of a superstition common to almost all parts of the world. I have referred to this subject at some length in my paper on "The Owl in Folklore," before this section, this year. The observation of

2 The custom of taking omens from birds

taking an omen, good or bad from the sight and flight of birds, gives us at times much pleasure. I remember an occasion about 40 years ago, when, while going on a picnic on the outskirts of Surat with a large party, I was startled with the shouts here and there, of "kākaryô koomâr, kākaryô koomâr." All eyes turned suddenly in different directions. Our cart-drivers and other members of our party, ran in different directions. On inquiry, I learnt, that it was the sight of a rare bird, known as kākaryô koomâr that had fluttered and agitated the whole party, especially the ladies. The sight of this bird which is very rare, is held to be very auspicious. Hence, when one of our party saw the bird, and uttered the shout, the others in the party got desirous to see the bird and to be fortunate for having a presage of a good result. An old lady, my aunt, who had a son, long suffering from a malady, was very anxious to let his son see that bird, so that the auspicious sight of this rare bird, may lead to his recovery. Here was the case of a kind of pleasure, added to my general pleasure of an outing on a picnic.

Last year, after my attendance at the second Oriental Conference at Calcutta in January, I had

3. The Custom
of preserving the
Bones of the Dead.

the pleasure of paying a short flying visit to Burma, Cochin-China, China, and Japan.

The ordinary pleasure of a long holiday in travelling in distant countries and enjoying their sights and scenes, was much added to, by moving about with a pencil and note-book in my hand, to take down notes from anthropological and other points of view. Among various points of anthropological interest, the one which drew my special attention and the one which I want to draw your special attention to, in this paper, is that of the custom for the disposal of the dead. Various people have a variety of customs and beliefs associated with the three chief events in a man's life, viz.: Birth, Marriage, and Death. Among these, the customs connected with the disposal of the body draw our special attention.

Almost all people believe in a future life, and in connection with that belief, attach some importance, to the manner of the disposal of the body. In my travels in Europe and India and in the Further East, I took special care, where possible, to visit burning grounds and burial grounds. At the bottom of all the funeral rites and customs connected with the disposal of the body, we find a notion, that something—however small—of the body must be preserved for short or long time, to help the soul. This view, generally connected with the view of Resurrection, has led the Christians, the Mahomedans and others to burial, the ancient Persians to the custom of having Astodans or Ossuaries, and the Egyptians to the custom of mummying, and having subterranean tombs and Pyramids for the mummies. I find that the custom of preserving bones or some part of the body for some future Resurrection in some form or another, is common to the whole of Asia. Among the Parsis in India and Persia and among the Tibetans, there prevails the custom of the exposure of the body to the Sun and to flesh-devouring birds and animals, like vultures. I had an opportunity of learning, though not of personally observing, at Darjeeling much of the custom of the exposure. In fact, I found that, what I heard and learnt in Darjeeling and in the adjoining *gumpas* or monasteries of the Tibetans, threw some side-light upon our Parsi custom of the disposal of the dead. From all that I saw and heard and learnt, I find, that the custom of preserving bones in one form or another has prevailed, in most of the countries of Central Asia and of China and Japan.

From these few observations, in connection with some typical instances, we find, that the study of
 Conclusion. Anthropology, especially, cultural Anthropology, leads us, not only to add to our general stock of human knowledge, but also to pleasure. Of course, all true students of different sciences and of various branches of learning, derive, as they ought to derive, particular pleasure in

their lines of study. But the science of Anthropology, very properly spoken of as the "Queen of Sciences," is one, that gives us a kind of continuous pleasure and zest in life, not only in our rooms of study and not only when we are in the company of books, but always, when we are at home or abroad, when we are in the midst of cultured people of cities or towns or when we are in the midst of the uncultured people of villages or solitary habitations. It is said, that to those who are inclined to hear sermons, even "stones preach sermons." So, in the case of Anthropology, the preaching material is everywhere. Its teaching will not only make you wise, but will make you a little happier than otherwise. It will most assuredly add to the pleasure of your life, and give you greater zest in life.

WAS THERE ANY INSTITUTION IN ANCIENT IRAN LIKE THAT OF CASTE IN INDIA? ¹

The word 'caste,' as used at present in India, suggests at once, the consideration of several questions such as purity of blood, profession, inter-dining, inter-marriage. etc. The object of this paper is to examine, whether there was anything like a caste system in ancient Persia corresponding to that in India.

In the Avesta, the Iranians speak of their cradle or their mother-country as Aeryana-vaêja² (आर्य-विज or आर्यविज) i.e., the seed or primary seat of the Aryans. They speak of it as the

The Grand division of the people in the Avesta.

very first (paoirim)³ country created by Ahura Mazda. God (Ahura Mazda) himself is spoken of as well-heard or famed (srûtô)⁴ in Airyana-vaêja. They offer their homage to their country under the same name (Nemo Airyênê vaêjahi).⁵ Even Ahura Mazda himself is spoken of as praising (yazata)⁶ his Ardviçura Anâhita and Ram Yazata,⁷ in this his first-created country. Zoroaster also praises Ardviçura Anâhita in this first country.⁸ The Iranians speak of all the countries belonging to, or under, the territorial jurisdiction of their

¹ This Paper was read before the Anthropological Section of the Science Congress, which met in January 1923, at Lucknow. (Vide Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII, No. 8, pp. 816-822.)

² Vendidad I 3 ; II 21.

³ Ibid I 3

⁴ Ibid II 21.

⁵ Ahrmazda Yasht 21.

⁶ Abân Yasht 17.

⁷ Râm Yasht 2.

⁸ Abân Yasht 104.

The non-Aryan countries, enumerated by the Avesta, are the following: 1. The Thirya or the country of Turân 2. Sairima, the country latterly spoken of as Sâm, the country of Western Asia and Eastern Europe. 3. The Sâmî or the country of China and 4. The country of the Dahæ, a people of Central Asia. In this grand division, we find India included in the Airya countries. In the enumeration of the sixteen regions of the Aryans, given in the first chapter of the Vendidad, India, being on the further East, stands as the fifteenth.

Then coming to a division or distinction among themselves we find from the Avesta that the Aryas of Iran divided themselves according to their professions. At first, they divided themselves into three classes and then into four classes. The threefold division was that of the Âthravans or priests, the Rathaëshâtâr or the warriors and the Vâstrya or the agriculturists. Then, latterly, there was the fourth class of the Hmiti or the citizens.

1. The Âthnavans were the priestly class. The word corresponds to the Indian word अथर्वन् and literally means "one who takes care of Fire" from âta fire and ran (ران) वन् Lat. *ven-erare*, Fr. *vénérer* to venerate, to honour).

2. The Rathaëshâtâns were the warriors or the military class. The word literally means one who stands in the chariot, from ratha (रथ) sans. रथ Lat. *rota*) a chariot, and stâ (स्था) lat. *sta-re*) to stand. The word points to the times of the ancient warfare when people fought standing in their chariots.

3. The Vâçtrya were the agriculturists. The word comes from vâstra (वास्त्र) pasture, from the root *vangh* Sans. वस to cover (the ground). Literally, the word means one who covers the ground with vegetation.

4. The Hūti were the artizan class. The word literally seems to mean 'one who prepares (things),' from 'hu' हु to prepare.

All these four professions are mentioned together only once in the Avesta, and that, in the 19th Chapter of the Yasna which is known as the commentary of the sacred prayer-formula of Yathâ-Ahu-Vairyô or the Ahunavar (Ahunavairya), which literally means "the Will of the Lord." The sacred formula of Ahunavar seems to correspond with the Word of the Christians.¹ We read that Ahura Mazda created or uttered Ahunavar before creating Heaven and other objects of Nature. One good recital of this Ahunavar is equal to 100 recitals of the Gâthâs. Even when not well-recited, it is worth 10 recitals of the Gâthâs. Its proper recital leads to a safe crossing of the Chinvat bridge which leads to Heaven. Ahunavar is the best of all prayersever taught by Ahura Mazda in the past and even likely to be taught in future. It saves a man from death. It is intended to be learnt by all men. He who utters Ahuna vairya acknowledges God as the all-supreme. Ahura Mazda uttered the Ahunavar and there came the creation into existence. Ahura Mazda announced that the Ahunavar consisted of all three measures, viz., Good thoughts, good words and good actions. Then it is spoken of as belonging to four professions (chathru pishtrem 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬎𐬵𐬀). These four professions, here spoken of, are, as said above, the following : 1. Âthravan, 2. Rathaêshtar, 3. Vâstrya and 4. Huiti.

The fact, that the word Huiti is found only once in the Avesta, and that again in a chapter of the Yasna, spoken of as a commentary of the Ahunavar, and therefore a later writing, shows that this fourth class was added much later.

¹ The Christian Scriptures are figuratively spoken of as "the word of God" (Epistle to the Romans IX. 6). It is taken in the sense of "the word of Faith" (Ibid X. 8) or "the word of Salvation" (The Acts XIII 26) or "the word of Righteousness" (Epistle to the Hebrews V. 13).

Among these professional classes, the priestly class was held to be superior and it seemed to have some special privileges. For example, a medical man treating an *Āthravan* or priest is asked not to charge his sacerdotal patient any fee. He is to treat him in return of his (the priest's) blessings or prayers on his behalf (*Āthravanem bāshazyāt dahmayāt parō afritōit*, Vend. VII. 41). The same is the case for the *Yaozdāthregar* or the purifier, who purifies those who have come into some contact with a dead body. He is to charge no fees, but is to purify the priest in return of his blessings (*Āthravanem yaozdāthō dahmayāt parō afritōit*, Vend. IX. 37). Then, there is a sliding scale of fees, both for the medical man and for the purifier, according to the social position and status of the patient. The fee is in kind, to be paid in small or large cattle.

According to Firdousi, it was Jamshed (the Yima Khshafeta of

the Avesta) who first divided the people into

The Four Classes
according to Fir-
dousi.

the above four professional classes. Firdousi

gives the names of these four classes as

Kātnziān,¹ *Nisaryān*, *Nasudi* and *Ahnukhushi*.

The seat of the people of the first class, the priests, was in the mountains (پرستند را جایگاه کرد کوه) i.e., they led a life of retirement and seclusion.

It seems that this division according to professions continued

even during the Greek rule over Persia of

Ardeshir Babo-
gan's Regulations.

Alexander and his successors and during the

Parthian rule. But there seems to have grown

up some relaxation in the pursuit of the professions, that is to say, a member of one profession could leave off his profession and take up another. So, Ardeshir Babagan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty and the real strong founder of the Iranian Renaissance which was partly begun by some Parthian kings after the dark ages of the Greek and early Parthian periods, made some

¹ Mohl's Paris Text gives the name as *Amuziān*.

² Vuller's Text, Vol. I, p. 24.

changes in the division of classes, and restored the original strictness, forbidding the people of one profession to take up another profession without the permission of the State. The King of Tabaristan, in his letter to Dastur Tansar, the Minister of Ardeshir, protests against this severity and Tansar justifies Ardeshir's regulations on the ground that this division was good for the preservation of order among people.¹

In this division of Ardeshir Babegan, we find the ancient class of the agriculturists mentioned among workers or labourers and the class of writers and lawyers and secretaries put in its place. By the time of the foundation of the Sassanian dynasty, Iran was changed much from its former condition. So, Ardeshir seems to have made another division

The four classes of Ardeshir Babegan are named as follows in the later Persian version of Tansar's letter

1. The Ashâb-i din (اصحاب دین) lit. the Masters of Religion, i.e., those versed in religion. This class included

(a) The Hakâm (حکام) i.e., the Judges. This class is, as pointed out by Darmesteter, the *dâtobars* or *dâvars* of the Pahlavi Yasna. This was a higher class of priests corresponding to that of Dasturs.

(b) The Zohâds (زهّاد) lit. the pious. They corresponded to the Pahlavi Maghopats or Mobads.

(c) The Sadane (سادنه) who were the keepers of temples. They were the priests in charge of fire-temples

(d) The Mu'alliman (معلمان) i.e., the preceptors or teachers.

2. The Muqâtîls (مقاتل) lit. the fighters, i.e., the soldiers. They were divided into cavalry and infantry

3. The Kuttâbs (کتّاب) i.e., the writers, learned men. These included writers, accountants, writers of opinions, diplomas and contracts, biographers, doctors, poets and astrologers

¹ Vide Tansar's letter in the *Journal Asiatique* of Mars-Avril 1894. Vide p. 214 for the text, p. 518 for French translation. Vide my work *ایرانی تحقیقات*, ۱۳۱۳ (Iranian Essays, Part III, pp. 127-170).

4. The Mohné محن lit. those who do works of *mehnat* (محنت) or labour; this class included traders, cultivators, merchants and all other handicrafts.

However, we find no trace of any prohibition to interdine or intermarry. The men of different professions interdined and intermarried. The only restriction in the matter of marriage referred to in the Avesta, is, that the righteous are not to marry with the unrighteous. But, we find, that latterly, in India, there seems to have arisen some prohibition in the matter of intermarriages and interdining between the clergy and the laity. A member of the priestly class could marry a girl of the laity, but not give his daughter in marriage to a person of the layman class. In the last century, this prohibition led to differences between the members of the priestly class and those of the laity. The differences having grown acute, the attention of Government was drawn to it and the Government appointed a special committee to look into the question and the committee decided the question in favour of the laity.¹ But the prohibition in the matter of intermarriage is dead. That in the matter of interdining existed, not in the case of all clergy, but in that of those only who officiated in the inner liturgical services. It also is dying off, especially in Bombay.

From all these facts, we see, that there never was an institution in ancient Irân like that of 'caste' among the Hindus, and also that there never was such an institution among the Parsees of India.

¹ *Vide* my paper on the Parsis, in "The Tribes and Castes of Bombay" by Mr. R. E. Enthoven (1922), Vol. III. pp. 202-3.

A NOTE ON THE "MYSTIC EYES" ON INDIAN BOATS.¹

This brief note is suggested to me by the paper on "The Eyes of Horus" by Dr Jamshed Maneckji Unvala, B.A., Ph. D., read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on the 4th January 1928. Dr. Unvala says:—"The eyes of Horus, the Egyptian Sun-god, plays an important part in mythology and superstition of the ancient Egyptians. They are called by Egyptologists *ujas* or *mystic eyes* on account of the mystic influence which they exercise on enemies of those whom they protect." He further says that this Eye of Horus or *ujas* "was worn as an amulet hanging down from the neck like a pendant. It formed also the decoration of a bracelet. These *ujas* acted as "protective amulets" and as such "were found on Egyptian mummies". Even the Divinities of Egypt were "in danger of attacks from their enemies, the evil spirits," and so, "they are often placed under the protection of the eyes of Horus." They stand on guard in the heavens exactly over the prow and over the helm of the barque (Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient Classique* page 93)". These *ujas* "were excavated in recent years from the ruins of Susa, the Capital of ancient Elam".

These *ujas* or "mystic eyes" of the ancient Egyptians, especially those found "over the prow and over the helm of the barque" remind us of the figures of eyes, which we see on some of our Asiatic boats. I remember having seen them on some boats in my voyage towards the furthest East-Burma, China, Japan in 1922. We find this eye upon some boats in our Bombay harbour. The object of this paper is to say a few words on the subject of this mystic eye on Indian boats and to explain its signification.

The custom of putting an oculus or eye upon boats seems to have been prevalent from olden times upto now, and from the Mediterranean in the West to the Chinese Seas in the East. We find an interesting account of this kind of carved eyes in a

¹ Read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay, on 4th January 1928 (Vide Vol. XIV, No. 1, pp. 77-83).

Paper, entitled "The Significance of the Oculus in Boat Decoration", read by Mr. James Hornell, Director of Fisheries, Madras Government, in the Zoological and Ethnological Section of the Indian Science Congress which met in our City or Bombay in January 1919. This paper forms an Appendix to Mr. Hornell's larger Paper, entitled "The Origins and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat Designs," read before the Lahore session of the Indian Science Congress in January 1918 and published in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.¹

Mr. Hornell's Paper is very interesting for us from, among

The Interest of others, an anthropological point of view. Mr. Hornell's Pa- Mr Hornell says;—"During recent years per. several ethnologists have endeavoured to adduce evidence of the spread and penetration of ancient Mediterranean culture by sea along definite trade routes from the Red Sea to India, thence eastwards to the myriad islands of the Malay Archipelago and the Pacific and onwards to the American continent itself. A great diversity of customs and many domestic articles of utility or ornament have been examined to see how far they bear out this hypothesis." So, Mr Hornell commenced an inquiry "with a view to see what light an examination of the main types of sea and river craft found in India at the present day would shed upon this theory of a cultural world drift from west to east." This inquiry led the author to prepare the above paper and he thinks that there is a "correlation of particular designs with definite regions on the coast line characterised by some clearly marked physical features and usually also by racial divergence."²

According to Mr. Hornell, "the coast and island regions distinguished by characteristic boat types" on the Indian coast are eight. Of these eight, three are those of (a) the North-West Coast, comprising Baluchistan, Sind, Kutch and Kathiawar; (b) The Bombay Coast southward to Mangalore and (c) Malabar and Travancore. "Each of these regions has its own boat-types, its own characteristics in weather, climate and coast formation".³ Mr. Hornell gives in this paper five illustrations of oculi on boats.

¹ Vol. VII, No. 3, pp 139-256.

² Ibid p. 139.

³ Ibid p. 140.


1. "Prow of an Egyptian funeral barge, circa 1400 B.C. (after Maspero)," p. 247.
2. "Fore part of a Greek galley from a vase in the British Museum; c. 500 B.C. (after Chatterton)," p. 248.
3. "Bow of a Ganges cargo boat showing oculus in braces on a black ground and a garland hung from the stem" (Original), p. 250.
4. "Oculus of boss-shape, on the head-boards of a Chinese junk, Shanghai" (Original).
5. "Elongated oculus characteristic of Annamite boats".

This custom of providing boats with eyes is very old. As pointed out by Mr. Hornell, it prevailed in Ancient Greece and Rome. The figure of boats on the vases and friezes of these ancient countries are said to have these mystic eyes. Among the Egyptians, their funeral boats, which carried the mummies over the Nile had such oculi. "These eyes, carefully depicted with well-defined conventionalized lids and eyebrows symbolized the eyes of unseen Osiris who would eventually guide the bark of the dead to that other land not to be entered save by the aid of this deity and his shallop. Except on these funeral boats the Egyptians do not appear to have used this eye symbol. The carefully drawn paintings of their sea-going vessels, such as the great sailing galleys employed by Queen Hatshepsut on her famous trading venture to the land of Punt, show no trace of it."¹

The appearance of eyes upon boats in Europe has been traced from 500 B.C. downwards. "The custom died out in the Middle Ages in the case of the large ships of commerce and war.... Thenceforward its use was limited to the fishing boats and small coasting craft of communities that clung with more than usual tenacity to the customs of their forefathers. Such survivals at the present day are found among the boats of Portuguese fishermen, the Xebecs of Calabria, the harbour craft of the Maltese, and occasionally among the fishing boats of the Sicilian and Greek coasts.

¹ Ibid p. 248.

² Ibid pp. 248-49.

Coming eastward, Mr. Hornell finds very few survivals of the custom in countries under Mahomedan influence, but the custom is found in Ceylon and India "wedded entirely with Hinduism". This custom is observed by some "cargo-carriers on the Ganges, the small Hindu-owned coasters of the north of Ceylon", on the boats of "Point Calimere over against Ceylon and the masula-boats of the Coromandel coast". In these cases, the eye is "fashioned in brass".¹ Among the frescoes in the Ajanta caves, of about 600 A.C. there is depicted a three masted ship and a royal barge both provided with eyes on the brows (R. Mukkarji, Indian shipping page 41). In Java, there are generally two pairs of eyes, one on the bows and the other on the quarters. The survival of the custom is seen, according to Mr. Hornell, in connection with the completion and landing of boats in the Coromandel Coast. "When newly-built boats are first launched, elaborate puja ceremonies are performed connected with the worship of the sea-goddess Kanniamma, and one of the rites is the incising, scratching, or daubing of the crude out-line of an Eye  on each bow. This ceremony is termed 'opening the eye' some of the older men state that their idea in doing this is to endow the boat with life"²,

According to Mr. Hornell, "in India the protecting deity of sailors and fishermen is feminine".....This becomes a sufficient explanation for the fact that ships are considered feminine in Europe and especially in England."³

Now, what is the significance of the mystic eyes? A tidal on the coast of Ceylon explained thus to Mr. The significance of the Mystic Eyes. Hornell. "The eyes were there to enable the ship to see her way, to avoid rocks and sandbanks—in his words 'without the eyes she would be like a blind man alone in

1 Ibid p. 249

2 Ibid pp. 249-50

3 Ardivigra, the Yazata presiding over water among the Iranians. is also a female-deity.

the street.¹ " Mr. Hornell says that that was the explanation of the ancient Greeks and Romans and that is the explanation of the modern Chinese. But Mr. Hornell himself thinks that the eyes on the boat were the eyes of "the gods under whose protection they sailed".

The Egyptian Osiris, who guarded the dead to the other world, resembled the Iranian Mithra, who judged the dead. I have shown this at some length in my Paper, entitled "The Belief about the Future of the soul among the Ancient Egyptians and Iranians."² Both were sun-gods who judged the dead. The Horus referred to in the above paper of Dr. Unvala, assisted Osiris by superintending the work of weighing the action of the dead, just as Âstâd assisted Mithra.

The Egyptian idea of the "eyes of Osiris" guiding the dead to the other world reminds us of the Iranian idea or the association of a dog's eye with the funeral ritual of a dead person. The dog, required for the purpose, is spoken of as "Chathru-Chashma" i.e. four-eyed dog.

Again, each of these regions has its own propitiatory ceremonies observed with a view to keep off danger. The Hindu fishing crew, and among them even some converted Roman Catholic Christians, on our Bombay Coast have their own ceremonies.

(a) On leaving the shore, they empty "a chatty of water over the prows". This reminds us of the modern European ceremony of breaking a bottle of champagne when a new vessel is launched into the sea. Perhaps, this breaking of a bottle of champagne may be a renewal of the old custom of sacrifice.

(b) Once every season, special propitiatory or help-seeking ceremonies are performed in honour of a local deity.

¹ Memoir of the Asiatic Society of Bengal op cit p 253.

² Journal, B.B.R.A. Society, Vol XIX pp. 365-74. Vide my Asiatic papers, Part I, pp. 137-46.

(c) At times, "a crude vermilion figure of *Ganapati*" is painted near the mast or at the stern

(d) At times, a goat is killed and cocoanuts are broken on the prow

(e) These offerings are accompanied with acclamations of prayer-like words like "mâtâ mâtâ" on our side.

In my paper, entitled "Note on the Kolis of Bassein", read on 25th July 1906, (1) I have briefly referred to the propitiatory ceremonies of the Bassein fishermen in honour of their sea-god Gomavir. I have given in that paper the following couplet from their prayer-song in honour of their god Gomavir:—

સમુદ્રાના ડોલે તારૂં ચલે, વારાની કુખતે,

ગોમારાચી કૃપા ઝાલી તરી તારૂં લાગતે.

From the point of view of what Dr Unvala says of the Horus or Mystic Eye of the Egyptians and what Mr. Hornell says of the oculus on boat-decoration, I am now inclined to think that, perhaps the word "ડોલે" in the above couplet, which I then took in the sense of *dolun* (ડોળું. Sans. दुल to swing) to move, may be taken in the sense of dolo ડોળો, an eye.

About the boats on the adjacent coast of Ceylon Mr Hornell says;—

"In the recess below is a little shelf a few inches above the deck, on this..... was a blowing conch and the lamp used in the ceremonies. When worship is to be performed, one of the crew who acts as *pujari*, puts ash on his forehead, lights the little ghee lamp lying on the shelf, burns camphor and incense, breaks a cocoanut, and rings a bell, while an assistant blows intermittently upon the conch. Offerings of plantains, betel-leaves and areca-nuts are made to the god and then distributed among the crew"

¹ Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol VII No 8 pp. 521-25 Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 263-67.

Horus, the Sun-god of the Egyptians, corresponds to Hvar

The Eye, the (𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎥𐎺𐎠 Pahlavi Hur 𐎧𐎶, Sans. सूर) Eye of God

the Iranian Sun-god. In the Avesta, the Sun and the Moon are taken to be, as it were, the Eyes of God¹. Ahura Mazda (God) helps and protects the world through the Sun, who is, as it were, his eye. God protects the world and, in it, the suffering men and their ship. So, the figure of an eye placed over boats, came to symbolize and signify God's protection. Some represent the Sun in pictures in the form of an eye.

P.S. NOTE.—On a brief report of this paper appearing in the daily papers, Mr. Jehangir Burjorji Sanjana has kindly drawn my attention to the following passage in "The Three Midshipmen" (pp 330-331) by Mr. W.H.G. Kingston.

"The Junk, on board which the midshipmen were prisoners, was a curious piece of marine architecture. She was flat-bottomed, flat sided, flat bowed and flat sterned. There was no stern but a huge green griffin or dragon or monster of some sort, projected over the bows, on each side of which were two large eyes—Chinaman's eyes in shape; and as Jos remarked about them, 'Ship no eyes, how see way?'"

A FEW MARRIAGE SONGS OF THE PARSEES AT NARGOL, PART II.†

This is the fourth of my papers,¹ in which I have been speaking of some Parsee songs. My previous Introduction. papers are the following :—1. “The Marriage Customs among the Parsees²” in which I have given the translation of 10¹ Parsee Marriage songs. 2. Parsee Life in Parsee Songs. Cradle Songs.³ 3. A Few Marriage Songs of the Parsees at Nargol.⁴ This day I propose to speak for the second time on some Parsee Marriage Songs, sung at the Parsee town of Nargol. But, before I do so, I will at first say a few words on the subject of Marriage Songs in general.

Songs are prevalent among all kinds of people whether savage or civilized. There are songs of Songs. pleasure and songs of sorrow. Songs sung on occasions of pleasure give a kind of amusement; those sung on occasions of grief give consolation. So, both give

† Read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on Journal p. 6

¹ They are the following :—(a) Bridegroom's Betrothal.

(b) A brother sending presents to a sister on the occasion of her children's marriage.

(c) Song, sung just before the marriage.

(d) Song, of a mother-in-law welcoming her son-in-law.

(e) Song, sung when the wedding presents are carried.

(f) Song, sung when the bridegroom leaves for the bride's house.

(g) Song, sung when a mother-in-law welcomes her son-in-law at the time of marriage.

(h) Song, sung at the close of the marriage.

(i) Song, sung when bidding farewell to the bride at the time of her going to the house of the bridegroom.

j) Song, sung when the bridegroom takes the bride to his house.

² Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. V, pp 242-282. Vide my “Marriage Customs among the Parsees.”

Ibid Vol. V, pp. 427-43. (Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 140-157.

⁴ *Ibid* Vol. XIII, pp. 629-638.

a kind of delight. We have devotional religious songs, panegyric songs, satirical songs, marriage songs, funeral songs, etc. Such songs need not necessarily be composed by great literary men. They are, at times, composed even by illiterate persons. They are intended to give vent to feelings and passions working in the breast of men. Among all the songs of various kinds, those sung on marriage occasions play a prominent part in the social life of a people. In fact, they give us a glimpse into the social life of the people. They are sung on marriage occasions only. A Parsee Gujarati proverb says:—"લગનના ગીત લગનપર જ સોભે," i.e., "The Marriage Songs seem best only on Marriage occasion."

Among the ancient Greeks, a marriage-song was spoken of as Epithalamium or Epithalamy from *epi* "a
 Epithalamiums or Marriage Songs. song", and *thalmos* "a bridal chamber, a bridal bed, a marriage." It was so called, because, among them, the best marriage songs were those sung by boys and girls at the bed-chamber, just before the couple retired to their bed chamber and in the early morning, just before they came out of their bed chamber. These songs¹ "consisted of invocations of blessings and predictions of happiness, interrupted from time to time by the ancient chorus Hymen Hymenæ."² Among the Romans, the marriage songs were mostly sung by girls alone after the departure of the marriage guests. They "contained much more of what modern morality would condemn as obscene."³ Among some of the well-known epithalamiums are those of Zoroaster and Solomon

¹ Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th edition, Vol. 8, page 496

² Hymen was supposed to be the son of Bacchus and Venus, or, according to others, of Apollo and one of the Muses. Having fallen in love with a girl, he followed her in the disguise of a woman, and, having once saved the girl and her party from the hands of pirates, was able to secure her love and her hand. He was a very happy married life, and so, he was often invoked in marriage blessings and songs. Another version of his story represents him as a very unfortunate man having died on his marriage day, and so, he is supposed to have been propitiated on marriage occasions to escape ill-luck.

³ *Ibid.*

among the ancients, and that of the poet Spenser among the moderns.

The song of Solomon, spoken of, at times, as 'Canticle' (from canare to sing) or the "song of songs" and which forms the 22nd book of the old Testament, is taken to be an epithalamium or marriage song. There is a great difference of views among scholars about the function of this book. Some deny the canonicity of this book on the ground, that a religious book, like the old Testament, cannot contain a book which speaks of physical love and marriage and which is a kind of amatory poem.¹ This objection or doubt has been explained away by some, that it is "an allegory indicating the love of Jehovah to his chosen people." The Christians adopted the allegorical view and maintained that it symbolized the love of Christ for his Church. This reminds us of the poems of Hafiz, known as the *Diwan-i Hafiz*, where also Hafiz's praise of wine and wife is taken to be allegorical. In the song of Solomon, the author, now and then, appeals to womankind of Jerusalem in general as "O daughter of Jerusalem" (Chapter I. 5 ; II, 7 ; III, 5 ; V, 8 ; VIII, 4.)

It seems, that the ancient Iranians also had their marriage songs. The country, whose later national poet, Firdousi, often speaks of songsters and songstresses (*râmashgar*), cannot be without its marriage songs. The 53rd Chapter of the *Gathas* is taken as a marriage song of Iran's prophet Zoroaster, composed by him for the marriage of his daughter Pouruchishti. His song is addressed to his marrying daughter (*tu Pouruchista*, i.e., *Thou Pouruchista*!)² to the marrying brides (*vazyamnabyo³ kainib³* and bridegrooms (*khshmaihyacha vademno*)⁴ (you bridegrooms⁵

¹ Vide Beeton's Dictionary of Ancient Art and Literature. Vol. I. p. 428.

² Yasna LIII, 3. 2

³ Yasna LIII, 5.

and to all men and women (narô athâ zenyô).¹ Dr. Mills speaks of this as “a marriage song, but one of a politically religious character”.²

Edmund Spenser, the well-known English poet of the 16th century, has written a poem entitled ‘Epithalamion’ It is taken to be a marriage song for his own marriage in November, 1594.

These epithalamiums, though specially celebrating, or referring to, some particular marriages, make a general appeal to womanhood. We saw above that Zoroaster appealed to all marrying brides and bridegrooms, to all men and women. Solomon appeals to all “daughters of Jerusalem.” So, Spenser appeals to “Ye learned sisters.” In the very beginning, he says,

“Ye learned sisters, which have oftentimes
Beene to me ayding, others to adorne,

* * * * *

Now lay those sorrowful complaints aside ;
And, having all your heads with girlands crownd,
Helpe me mine owne loves prayes to resound.”³

This appeal to “Ye learned sisters” reminds us of a similar appeal to sing “to mothers and ladies” in a recent Parsee marriage song, which says : આણેરે માઈઓ આણેરે બાઈઓ, આણેરે ગીડડાં ગાયેછ,⁴ એવનાં શુભ લગનનાં આણેરે ગીડડાં ગાયેછ. i.e., “Come on O Mothers ! Come on O Ladies ! Let us sing the songs. Let us sing the songs of the auspicious marriage of.....”⁴

¹ *Ibid.* 6

² Mill's Gathas, *S. B. E.* Vol. XXXI, p. 187.

³ Epithalamion, lines 1-14, p. 587. The Globe Edition of the Complete Works of Edmund Spenser, by R. Morris, with a Memoir by J. W. Hales (1873).

⁴ Here the name of the bride is mentioned in the song.

These Epithalamiums show that their composers have intended them, not only for the ears of the then brides and bridegrooms, but also for the ears of all future brides and bridegrooms, for the ears of all who attend the marriage gatherings. They were to hear them, understand them and take lessons from them.

Spencer's Epithalamion treats of "various matters of the marriage day—of his love's waking, of the merry music of the minstrels, of her coming forth in all the pride of her visible loveliness, . . . of her standing before the altar. . . ., of the bringing her home, of the rising of the evening star, and the fair face of the moon looking down on his bliss not unfavourably."¹ In Parsee marriage songs, we see a similar variety. They begin singing about marriage events prior to the marriage day. They begin, for example, with a day long previous to the marriage day—at times a fortnight or a month before the marriage day—when the ladies of the family begin pounding the adad² (અડડ) for the pâpat³ (પાપડ)

In the first two marriage songs of Nargol described in my previous paper, we saw, that the songs referred to occasions before the marriage, occasions when the house lady began the marriage preparations. In this paper, I give two more songs

This song is spoken of in Gujarati as that of *murat* (મુરત)
i.e., the fit time, the auspicious moment
Mâdavsarâ Song. or season. The Gujarati heading of
the song speaks of it as મુરત એર રોપતી વખતે ગાવાનું *i.e.*,

¹ *Ibid* pp. XLIX-L.

² અડડ, અડડ, "a kind of Vetch (*Dalichos Pileus*), a kind of pulse" (*Belsare's Dictionary*).

³ "A thin crisp cake made of flour with spices, a sort of wafer-cake" (*Gujarati and English Dictionary of Shapurji Edulji*, 1863) page 303.

⁴ Sans. મુહૂર્ત "a period, time (auspicious or otherwise) The period is generally that of the 1/30th part of a day of 24 hours; so it comes to 48 minutes."

to be sung at the auspicious time of planting the *bêr*.¹ On this occasion, the branch of a tree is planted. The tree on the Bombay side is generally a mango-tree. In Bombay, the occasion is spoken of by the Parsees as *Mâdavsarô* (*مایداسرئو*) i.e., the erection of a pavilion (*mâdav*, Sans. *मंडप*)²

I had the pleasure of seeing this ceremony of planting a branch at Naosari, on the occasion of the marriage of a relative³ The ceremony is as follows : A post is put up in a pit in the ground near the house of the bride or bridegroom, generally on the right hand side of the house while entering. Betel-leaves, betel-nuts, dry date, curd, ghee or clarified butter, a sugar cake (*պղլլի*), a silver coin, and a copper coin are first put into the pit. Generally some principal male members and four principal female members, none of whom should be a widow, touch the post when it is lowered into the ground. If there is no sufficient place for all the eight persons to touch the post, one or two may touch the post and the others may touch with their hands the body or bodies of a person or persons in the front. The post, before being put into the ground, is decorated with *kunku*, *kharafu* and some leaves of plants like *âsâ-pâlô*. The family priest recites an Ahunavar or Yatha Ahu Vairyo.⁴ On the completion of this ceremony of putting in the post, which

¹ The word may be another form of *ویل* "a loaf of a tree sacred to Shiva" Or, it may be Persian *bed* *بید* willow, rattan.

² The second part of the word may be Persian *سرائی* *sarâi*, i.e., house, because the pavilion becomes for the time being, a kind of house.

³ On 12th May 1918, on, the marriage of Mr. Ardeshir Kekobad Modi, at present, the Agent and Managing Director of the Naosari Electric Supply Company, Limited

⁴ For this prayer-formula, *vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees" pp. 341-348 The Pahlavi Shayast la-Shayast enjoins the recital of the Ahunavar when one goes to desire a wife (*mun val nashman bavîhânastan vazlânêt*; Dr. M. B. Davar's Text p. 99. S.B.E., Vol. V p. 392) The Rivâyets also speak of this recital on marriage occasions (*vide* M. R. Unwalla's Rivayat of Darab Hormuzdyar with my Introduction, p. 13, 1 18. *وفدی کہ از کسی دختر خواستن را برون*

is, as it were, the foundation-laying ceremony for the pavilion, the pit is filled up and incense is burned over fire which is produced there on a vase. The lady guests are then presented with sugar-cakes (batâsâ) and the male guests with flowers and cocoanuts. In some Parsee villages, the post is not of dry wood, but of a green branch of a tree. Even when a wooden post is put in, a fresh branch or a cluster of fresh leaves of a tree, are attached to the post. A Gujarati document of 1631 A.C. mentions the fee of the priest who officiated at such marriage *murat* ceremony as Re 1.¹

In many a case, though the necessity of the observance of a peculiar custom ceases, people stick to the custom in a lesser or abbreviated or symbolic form. We find an instance of this in our present case. Formerly, in Parsee villages, the people generally celebrated all the marriage festivities near their houses and in their own streets. So, a pavilion and the above accompanying ceremonies or customs for laying the foundation of the pavilion were necessary. Now-a-days, public places, like the All-bless Bag in Bombay, are provided for all marriage celebrations. But still, some people, though they do not erect a pavilion, perform this mandap-planting ceremony.

The following song is sung at Nargol on this occasion. I give the text as received by me from Nargol.

મુહરત યેર રોપતી વખતે ગાણું.

1 માહરે સુનાનાં ધારણુ રોપીઆરે, માહરે રૂપધ્યાના જડેઆ વલોટ
માડવડો મોતીએ રચીઓરે.

2 માહરે સાગનાં સાગટારે નાંખીઆ, માહરે પાટલીઆના જડેઆ પકવાસા
માડવડો મોતીએ રચીઓરે.

¹ For this fee and other payments to priests on various social and domestic occasions, *vide* my Article on "the Parsis," in Mr. R. E. Enthoven's "Tribes and Castes of Bombay", Vol III, p 213.

- ૩ માહરે કાંચનાં તે નલીઆં ચહુડાવીઆં, દુધલીઆના વરસીઆ મેધરે
માડવડો મોતીએ રચીઓરે.
- ૪ માહરે કુંકાંના કારા નાંખેઆરે, દહીં થરે ચડે આ પીંડાર
માડવડો મોતીએ રચીઓરે.
- ૫ કાચી તે ઈટનાં આંગણુરે, ઝોસરીએ કાલેઆ કાચરે
માડવડો મોતીએ રચીઓરે.
- ૬ ઉંખર પર વારેઓ આંછીઓ^૧, ખરસાકે લાગે આંસર
માડવડો મોતીએ રચીઓરે.
- ૭ માહરે ખડકીએ મોતીના સાતીઆ^૩, ઉભે પાટે વારેઆ પાટ,
માડવડો મોતીએ રચીઓરે.
- ૮ માહરા કોણુજી આવેઆરે, કોણુજી આવસેરે—માહરા કોણુજીની
જેવુંરે લાગીવાટ—છેડારે છુટી પાધડીરે.
- ૯ માહરા (ધેર ધણી) જી આવેઆરે, (ભાઈ અથવા સગો) જી આવસેરે,
(ત્રીજો ભાઈ અથવા સગો) જીની જેવુંરે લાગીવાટ,
છેડારે છુટી પાધડીરે:—

(એવીજ રીતે આગલ બીજાં નામો હોય તે લેવાં)

Song No. ૩.

Translation.

1. I have planted golden props⁴.
I have put up silver ropes. (પલોટ) ⁵.
I have decorated the pavilion⁶ (or the bower or arbour)
with pearls.
2. I put up rafters⁷ of timber.
I fixed lathes of planks.⁸
I have decorated the pavilion with pearls.

(૧) આંછીઓ=આકુ' મીકુ' કીકુ'.

(૨) આંસ=ખરપટા.

(૩) સાતીઆ=ચોક.

⁴ ધારણ " a prop or support of a house ".

⁵ વડોટ. I think the word is the same as વડોટ " a large rope."

⁶ માડવ, મંડપ, an open building ; a bower.

⁷ સાકત rafters

⁸ Another form of પાટવા, a plank.

3. I put up glass tiles over it.
There rained the rain of milk.
I have decorated the pavilion with pearls.
4. I put up the mixture for plaster¹ with turmeric powder.
I put up the layers² with curdle.
I decorated the pavilion with pearls.
5. The court-yards are (made) of raw bricks.
Steps are (made) of glass (or crystal).
I have decorated the pavilion with pearls
6. I performed the *achoo minchu*³ (આણું મીચું) on the threshold.
On the door-frame⁴ are put up the besmearing marks⁵.
My pavilion is decorated with pearls.

1 ગારા or ગાર (cf. ગુનાનો ગાર) a mixture to be used as mortar or plaster

2 પીંડાર It seems to be another form of પીંડા "a kind of white earth used to cover the walls of houses"

3 આણું, મીચું "a ceremony performed on the occasion of admitting the bride and the bridegroom into his or her house, on the day of betrothal, marriage, or any other occasion" (Gujarati-English Dictionary by Netrojee Furdoonjee) Here, the word is not explained. Other Gujarati Dictionaries do not give the word. I venture to derive the word as follows: આણું is "little", another form of ઓણું. મીચું is from મીચું, to hinder, obstruct, annoy. So આણું મીચું is the ceremony which symbolizes or signifies "the lessening or removing the hindrances or obstructions in married life". In this ceremony, the lady, who welcomes, at the threshold of the house, the bride or the bridegroom on marriage occasions or a child or adult on any other joyful occasion, places a few grains of rice, betel-nuts, and water in a tray, and passing the tray three times round the head of the person welcomed, throws the articles on the ground near his feet, to signify that all evil and misfortunes in life, if any, may pass off.

4 બારસાં or બારસાખ, a door-frame.

5 આસ. In the copy of the marriage song supplied to me, the word આસ is explained in a foot-note as મીચું, i.e. the besmearing marks on the door-frame. On many occasions the door frames are besmeared with turmeric powder and another powder is known as લોહજીર (લોહ) કુકું "a powder prepared from turmeric, bound with lemon juice, alum etc., for marking the forehead." (Netrojee Furdoonjee's Gujarati-English Dictionary). In this case, the word આસ may be આસ, a seat. The besmearing or decorating marks are made with forefingers and are in the form of simple marks, one over another

7. In the first front room of my house¹, there are auspicious marks² made of pearls (*i.e.*, pearl powder).

There seats³ are arranged in a proper sitting¹ position.
My pavilion is decorated with pearls.

8. My "so and so"⁴ has come. My "so and so" will come
I am waiting for my "so and so." Skirts and turbans⁵ are
coming in a loose line.⁷

9. My so and so^{1b} has come; my so and so^{1b} will come;
I am waiting for so and so.⁸

¹ *Khadaki* (ખડકી) is the verandah of a house. It also means the first front room next to the verandah.

² સીતીઆ or સાપીઆ is "an auspicious mark or sign made or painted on doors, etc." Here, the reference is to the *chok* ચોક; vide my first paper on the Nargol Songs (Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII page 631. Vide my Anthropological papers Part IV, p 140).

³ બેઠ (બેઠા) a bench, or a form, a seat.

⁴ ઉભે બેઠે *i.e.*, in an erect position. The *pāts* or *pātlās*, when not used are put aside in an inverse or upside down (ઉબે) position

⁵ દેવજી (*Jonji*) lit., who. The singer means "Mr so and so"

⁶ The turbans are put on by various persons in various fashions. I do not understand what particular fashion is referred to. The last two couplets of the song seem to be a later addition by somebody, other than the original author, because all the seven preceding couplets ended with the repeated chorus-line બાજીરે બેઠીરે રાપીઆરે, while this and the next couplet—the last two couplets—have a different ending

⁷ The signification is not clear. The word છૂટી *i.e.*, got loose is often used in an idiomatic way *e.g.*, one speaks as બાજીસોની હાર છૂટી *i.e.*, "the row of men has got loose", meaning there is a long string of men coming one after another. Here the singer seems to say that guests with skirts (a kind of loose garment like *pichodi* પીઠેડી put on by Hindus in Gujarat across their shoulders) and turbans have begun coming. The word turban also is used figuratively for a male *e.g.*, formerly one spoke as આજે ૧૦૦ બાજી હજાર હતા *i.e.*, "To-day there were present 100 turbans, meaning thereby that there were one hundred males present.

⁸ Here the names are recited. The meaning is well-nigh the same as that of the preceding couplet. It seems that, in the preceding couplet, the singer speaks of the house-lord and other relatives who are ready to receive the guests: and in this couplet, the singer speaks of some principal guests naming them individually. If there are a number of such guests, the lines of the song are repeated.

The next song is that sung at the time of cleaning the wheat in winnowing fans. The song is spoken of as that of holding the winnowing fans into the hand (હાથ સુપડાં ધરે). One of the processes for the marriage celebration is to prepare flour, some days before the marriage, for the marriage feasts. The house-lady sings in the song that (a) she went to the market and bought wheat, (b) brought it to the house in carts, (c) emptied the carts in the front of the house, (d) cleaned the wheat in winnowing fans, (e) collected it in round wicker baskets, (f) then taking it little by little in trays, removed pebbles or dirt from it, (g) collected the wheat, so cleaned, in earthen vessels, and then grinded it, while singing in the company of her neighbour friends

The winnowing fans must be quite new. They are decorated with turmeric (હલદની ચરપડાં). Strings of flowers તોરણ are hanging at the two ends of the front side. They contain dry date, betel-nut, a turmeric piece (હલદનો ગાંડીઆ) and a piece of the kernel of a cocoanut. Four ladies hold in their hands the winnowing fans, and, while singing the song, winnow the above articles and exchange the fans from one's hands to another's. They exchange the winnowing fans five times.

The first part of the song is rather difficult to understand well. I give below this song sung during the winnowing of the wheat.

હાથ સુપડાં ધરે તે વખતે ગાવું.

હું ગઈતી હાટુડા સેરી સાંધ સુપડારે,

મને લાઘા ગહુલાનો છાડ—માદરીઆ નો ધુમરે

ધુમરે તું સંધરણીઆ રાત,

માહરે ઘેરે સોહરેલોરે¹

... ..

સોહરેલો એતે ઘેરેખાર,

(પરણતી કન્યા) બાઈએ આણેઓરે

...

ગાડે ધાલી,² ગહું આણેઆ, રેડીઆ ઓસરી બાહારે...

1 The line માદરીઆનો ધુમરે is repeated.

2 ધાલી=ભરી.

સુપડે ગહું સોયાર³ સાંનસુવડારે,
 રેડીઆ ટોપલાં માહેરે
 થાલીએ મુકી ધહું ચુંટીઆ
 રેડીઆ માટલાં માહેરે
 પડોસણે માંડીઓ ધંટનો રાગ,
 મેં માડીઓ ધંટીનો રાગ
 પડોસણે પાડી ભરકડીરે, મેં પાડી મેંદોલા કણુકરે ...

Translation.—I went to the market⁴ of the street⁵ for the purchase⁶ of winnowing fans. I found⁷ a plant of wheat-like⁸ colour. There move⁹ the Madaryas.¹⁰

(2) You wander for the (whole) night,¹¹ you wanderers.¹¹ I have *Sohrelo*¹² in my house. There move the Madaryas.

³ સોયા=વહીઆ

⁴ Hāt (હાટ) is a market Hatdī (હાટડી) or hatdu (હાટડું) is a small market.

⁵ Serī (સેરી), a lane, a street.

⁶ Sans. સાંધ to complete, to recover, to make perfect. The word may be શોધ, search; the idea seems to be of purchasing

⁷ લાધવું "to load," "to be found," "to accrue."

⁸ ગહુંલો ' of a wheatlike colour ; brown "

⁹ ધુમવું to plow or ધુમવું "to linger or hang on", also "to blow."

¹⁰ I do not clearly understand these words which are repeated at the end of every couplet. I submit the following notes

The word may be madavyā je (માડવિયા જે) instead of (માડીઆ, એ. In that case madavi—yo is "a man of the bride's party". (M. B. Bel-sara's Pronouncing and Etymological Gujarati-English Dictionary (1895) p 602) So, the meaning would be, "The persons in the bride's party enjoy the fun (ધુમવું, to enjoy perfectly) Or probably, the word is માદગિયું an amulet. The winnowing fans are decorated, and the reference is to the sound made by the decorative articles attached to the winnowing fans. I consulted Mr. Wadia of Nargol on the subject of the meaning of this line and he is not in a position to give any satisfactory explanation

¹¹ Perhaps from સંગ્રહણી, disorder i.e. wanderers, loafers.

¹² Name of the bride-groom. The author of the song has assumed this name. Other singers may mention the name of a particular bride-groom.

(3) Sohrelo is at his proper house. He is brought (*i.e.* won) by.....¹. There move the Madaryas.

4. I brought (from the market) wheat in carts and emptied them on the outside of the steps². There move the Madaryas.

5. The wheat is put into³ the winnowing fans. It is....⁴ It (*i.e.* the wheat) is then put into round baskets. There move about the Madaryas.

6. The wheat are put into trays and the stony particles are removed⁵. They are then emptied into earthen pots. Madaryas are wandering.

7. My neighbour⁶ began the song of a bell.⁷ I began the song of a hand-mill. The Madaryas are wandering.

8. My neighbour produced (by her grinding) coarse flour⁸ and I produced fine wheaten flour.⁹ The Madaryas are wandering.

¹ Here the name of the bride is mentioned.

² સ્થાપત્રી "The steps at the entrance of a dwelling house."

³ Sans. છુ "to go," "to move."

⁴ I do not understand this part.

⁵ The ordinary word is પૂડવા *i.e.* "to pick out (with the hand) stony particles from corn."

⁶ પડોસણ is a female neighbour.

⁷ ઘડલ Bell. The word is not to be taken here in its literal sense, because a bell is never used while grinding corn. What is meant seems to be "My neighbour began, while grinding the corn, to sing with a loud (bell-like) voice and I began to sing in a lower tone." We know that in India, ladies generally sing while grinding corn with a hand-mill.

⁸ ભરકડી from ભરકડ "to grind coarsely," what seems to have been meant is coarse flour

⁹ મેદાલા from મેદા "fine wheaten flour."


II

We now speak of "everything being fair in war." For example, attempts are said to have been secretly made in war by one side or another to poison wells or such other sources, whence drinking water was likely to be drawn by the enemy. We read of fears being entertained of an enemy spreading disease and death by infection through microbes, etc. Such attempts seem to have been prevalent in olden times also. There were various ways of such poisonings. According to the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* (Chap. XIX), Yaugandharāyana induced the king of Vatsa to conquer other regions. The king consented, and, at first, propitiated Siva by an austere fast for three nights in which his queens and ministers also joined. Siva was pleased with this propitiation and promised in dreams, that he would grant victory. Yaugandharāyana, the minister, advised the king that, first, Brahmadata, the king of Benares, should be conquered. The king accepted the advice. The minister had, at first, sent some spies to Benares to know something about the movements of king Brahmadata. The spies planned a project. They pretended to be a party of soothsayers. One of them, pretending to be a great soothsayer, gained the confidence of a Rajput courtier who was a favourite of the king of Benares. Through this Rajput courtier, he and his colleagues learnt the secrets of the Court of the king. When the king of Vatsa began the invasion of the country of Benares, Yogakarandaka, the minister of king Brahmadata, laid snares in the path of the invading king. It is said that, "he tainted, by means of poison and other deleterious substances, the trees, flowering creepers, water and grass all along the line of march. And he sent poison damsels as dancing-girls among the enemy's host, and he also dispatched nocturnal assassins into their midst. But that spy, who had assumed the character of a prophet found all this out, and quietly informed Yaugandharāyana of all that he had learnt through his companions. Yaugandharāyana on his part, when he found it out, purified at every step along the line of march the poisoned

A Poison-dam-
sel according to
Indian accounts.

grass, water, etc., by means of corrective antidotes and forbade in the camp the society of strange women.”¹

Coming to the *Mudrā Rākshasa*, we find the *Visha Kanyā* विषकन्या referred to in its Act I. S. 15², where Chānakya, the adviser and minister of Chandragupta, king of Magadha, speaks of an ally, king Parvata, being “piteously murdered by Rākshasa by means of the poison maid.”³ We further learn from this play (Act II)⁴, that a Buddhist monk, Jivāsiddhi by name, “was banished with disgrace from the capital” of his country “on the charge, that he murdered Parvateshvara with the poison-maid”, retained by Rākshasa.

We find from these above accounts that, among the various ways of secretly doing all possible harm to the enemy, one was the use of what is called *Vish-Kanyā* or poison-damsel. The original word for “vish,” poison, seems to be Sanskrit द्विष, (*Avesta thish*)  meaning to harm. So, the word *Vish-Kanyā*, in its very original sense, seems to mean a “harming damsel,” that is to say, “a damsel that does harm to the enemy, either by poison or in some other way.” But latterly, the word seems to have been confined to a damsel who does harm by poison,—poison administered in food or water, or communicated by contact.

Prof. Dhurva thus speaks of a poison-damsel in his *Mudrā Rākshasa*, in a note: विषकन्या, विषकन्यका विषमयी कन्या or विषाङ्गनी“ (*Vish-Kanyā*, *Vish-Kanyakā*, *Vishmayi Kanyā* or *Vishānghani*), the poison maid, was a beautiful damsel, whose system was charged with poison to such an extent that an intercourse with her was believed to cause death.”

¹ Ibid Vol II, p. 91.

² *Mudrā Rākshasa* or The Signet Ring, a Sanskrit Drama in seven Acts by Vishākha-datta, critically edited with copious Notes, Translation, Introduction and Appendices, Indices etc., by Prof. K. H. Dhruva, 2nd ed. 1923. Text, p. 5, l. 17. Translation p. 6.

³ “Ibid.

⁴ Ibid Translation, p. 29.

⁵ Ibid Text, p 5, l. 17. Translation, p. 5 for the reference; vide p. 103 for the Note.

Prof Dhruva, further on, says : " She is different from her namesake of astrology, born under an inauspicious configuration of planets. She is also to be distinguished from योगनारी Yôganâri or Yôgajînâ)....a very siren employed to poison an enemy secretly."

Let us then sum up here what is said above, about the poison damsel :

- (1) A poison-damsel, in the original sense of the word, seems to mean a damsel who does harm deceitfully, in some way or other, to another person.
- (2) She is one, born under an inauspicious configuration or conjugation of planets. So, she does harm to one who marries her. It is this view that seems to have led, and even now seems to lead, many Indian parents to resort to an astrologer to ascertain, whether the planets under the influence of which their children are born, are of the same conjunction or not. The happiness or unhappiness of marriage depends upon that. The custom is spoken of as *râç*, *jovrávvi*, i e., to get the route (of the planets) seen (by an astrologer).
- (3) A damsel, who is, in one way or another so much poisoned or infected with a disease, that she is likely to convey her poison or infectious disease to the person who co-habits with her or comes into some form of close contact with her and to bring about his death. A woman infected with a venereal disease is a poison-damsel of this kind.
- (4) A damsel who has actually saturated her body with gradual doses of poison, and who, therefore, is in a state likely to convey the poison of her body, so saturated, to another person who comes into contact with her. The Gesta Romanorum (11th tale) is said to refer to the story of an Indian queen, sending a poison-damsel to Alexander the

Great and of Aristotle frustrating her plan. This poison damsel seems to be of this kind.¹

- (5) A damsel who treacherously captivates the heart of a person and then actually gives him some poison in food or drink.

It is the last kind of poison-damsel that is illustrated by the Persian story of the Burzo-nâmech.

III.

Now, having described in brief, what the Vish-Kanyā or Poison-damsel of the Indian books is, I will

The Poison-Damsel of the Burzo-nâmech.

submit a Persian story which illustrates the existence of a kind of Poison-damsel in Persia.

The story is not on all fours with the Indian stories, but it illustrates the existence of some kind of damsels like the योगनारी (Yoganāri) of India, employed to poison the enemy. This Persian story is the story of one Sushan Rāmashgar, i.e., Susan, the songstress, which we read in the Persian Burzo-nâmech.² Before I proceed with the story, I will say a few words as to what the Burzo-nâmech is.

M. Mohl, in the preface of his text and translation of the Shah-nâmech of Firdousi, says: "Le succès

What is the Burzo-nâmech.

immense q'il eut devait naturellement donner une importance littéraire inaccoutumée à

toutes les traditions, soit écrites soit orales, que les générations successives s'étaient transmises, et Firdousi eut bientôt une foule d'imitateurs, comme tous les hommes qui touchent

¹ Since writing the above, I have been able to find a trace of this story in the Shah-nâmech of Firdousi. It forms the subject of a Paper to be read before my Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

² Vide (a) Turner Macan's Calcutta Edition of the Shah-nâmech, Vol. IV, Appendix p. 2229. (b) Dastur Minochehr Jamaspji's Gujarati Translation of the Shah-nâmech, Vol. IV.

(c) Since writing the above paper and before it passes through the Press in Bombay, there has appeared in Bombay, a book in Gujarati verses, entitled "અરજનામું. દારતાને સુસન રામીરાગ." (Burjo-nâmech. The Episode of Sushan, the songstress) by Mr. Dhunil Patel.

vivement et directement un sentiment national. Presque tous les héros dont parle Firdousi, et quelques autres dont il ne, parle pas devinrent les sujets de biographies épiques."¹

Among the works of such imitators of Firdousi, we find a number of *nāmehs* or books, such as *Kersâsp-nāmeh*, *Sâm-nāmeh*, *Frâmroz-nāmeh*, *Jahângir-nāmeh*, *Bânu Goshasp-nāmeh*, *Burzo-nāmeh* and *Bahman-nāmeh*. Almost all the *nāmehs* or books are rendered into Gujarati by learned priests of about 100 years ago.²

Now we come to the Persian story: Rustam, the national hero of Persia, was a terror to Turân. Afrasiâb, the king of Tûrân, had once treacherously arranged to bring about a fight between him and his son Sohrâb. He had taken all possible means to bring about, that the father, who had never seen his son, having left the country of his wife, Tehmina when she was enceinte, may unawares fight with the son. He succeeded in his stratagem and the father and son, not knowing each other, fought, and in the end, the son, Sohrab by name, was killed.³ Sohrab had a son by name Burzo, who was a posthumous child, having been born after the death of Sohrab

¹ M. Mohl, small edition, Preface, p. LXII.

² We may say here, that the word *nāmeh* seems to have been taken by Firdousi for his *Shah-nāmeh* from a preceding Pahlavi book, known as *Khudâi-nâmoh*, i.e., the Book of Kings or Masters. The *nâmo Shah-nâmoh* may be taken as a rendering of *Khudâi-nâmeh*. It seems that Hafiz, the great Sufi poet, had followed Firdousi in naming some parts of his *Divan* as *nâmehs*, e.g., the *Sâki-nâmeh*, *Mughanni-nâmeh*, etc. Goethe, who is spoken of as the German Hafiz, has, in his *West-östlicher Divan*, named after the *Divan* of Hafiz, imitated his Persian prototypo by naming the 12 parts of his *Divan* as *Nâmeh*. For example, he has named the first book of his *Divan* (*Buch des Sängers*) *Moganni-nâmeh* after Hafiz's ode of that name.

³ The Iranian story of Rustam and Sohrab resembles the Irish story of Cucullin and Conloch (vide my Paper "The Irish story of Cucullin and Conloch and the Persian story of Rustam and Sohrab)." *Journal B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 317-329; vide my *Asiatic Papers*, Part I, pp. 53-66.

For all the exploits of Rustam, according to the *Shah-nameh*, vide my *Geograte Rustem-nameh*.

at the hand of his father Rustam. Burzo, when he grew up, was treacherously won over by Afrasiâb, the king of Turân, who persuaded the young hero to join the Turânian army as a commander and to march against Irân. In this case also, Afrasiâb had cleverly arranged that the grandfather and grandson may not come to know each other, and so fight with each other in ignorance. He succeeded in his stratagem and both fought, not knowing each other. But in this case, Burzo was accompanied by his mother Shirui, who, at the last moment, when Rustam overthrew his grandson and was about to kill him, interfered and told Rustam that the young man, whom he was going to kill, was his grandson. Thus, the catastrophe of Rustam killing his grandson in ignorance was averted. Therefore, the wicked scheme of Afrâsiâb failed just at the end. Now, when Afrasiâb learnt this news of the failure of his scheme, he was much depressed and distressed, and he expressed his disappointment openly in an assembly convened for festive purposes, where he first heard the news. In the assembly, there was a songstress named Susan¹ Râmasligar, i.e., Susan the songstress. When she saw and heard the king, bemoaning the failure of his diabolical scheme of bringing about the death of the great aged hero of Persia at the hands of his young robust grandson, she stepped forth, consoled the king and offered her services to help the king by entrapping the great generals of the Iranian army by a stratagem. She proposed that a brave man should be appointed to accompany her in her errand. Afrâsiâb gave her the help of a brave warrior named Pilshûm who was a fresh recruit in his court and had come from China. Then, Susan, the songstress, took from the court of Afrâsiâb ten camel loads

¹ Susan (سوسن) in Arabic (stausan) means, 'hly.' This name seems to be a variant of Shisin (شيسن) which we find as the name of a Jewish queen of king Yazdagard in the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i Airân (vide my Yâdgâr-i-Zarîran etc. Translation and Transliteration, p. 105, vide The Pahlavi Texts by Dastur Jamaspî, p 23, l. 1) In the Shah-nâmeh of Firdousî, we find Susanak (i.e., the small or young Susan) as the name of the wife of king Behramgore (Behram V. V, p.

of food and drink and ten camel loads of camp furniture, beddings and other articles, and, accompanied by Pilshûm marched under the guise of a merchant with a caravan towards the frontiers of Persia, and encamped at a place on a high road, where three roads from Jâbulastan, Iran proper, and Turân met. She gave necessary orders to Pilshûm and a camelteer to appear before her immediately when called by her.

Now, it was usual for Rustam, who was the feudal vassal of the lord suzerain, the king of Iran, and who held in fief the country of Kâbulastan and Jâbulastan, to invite the generals of Persia, once a year, at a great festive gathering in his country. So, all the great generals of Persia had met that year at his court. This particular year the festivities were greater, because Rustam had met his grandson Burzo for the first time and had narrowly escaped the misfortune of killing him in ignorance. Among these generals, there were, among others, Godrez and Tus. In the midst of festive eating and drinking, some of them boasted about their individual strength. Tus¹, who was of the royal family and had descended from Naozar, was the greatest boaster under the influence of drink. He boasted that he was stronger than Rustam and Godrez. When Godrez, who was the Nestor of the Court of the Iranian king, as Pirân was that of the Turânian king, heard this boasting, he reprimanded Tus, saying: "We, of the family of Keshwâd, would not tolerate such boasting on your part. Even if you have less regard for me, who am an old man, you ought to have regard for other courtiers of this gathering and not boast as you have done. You know fully well that Burzo once lifted you up bodily from your horse. You seem to forget that Rustam, whom you now run down, had, with a mere finger of his hand, thrown you down on the ground. All take you to be wanting in courage." Tus, thereupon,

¹ It is this Iranian general who is represented in the Avesta as fighting with the Hunas or Huns, a Turanian tribe (*vide* my paper entitled "The Huns who invaded India. What was their Religion," The Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference at Madras, p. 662).

drew his dagger to kill Godrez, but Rehâm, a son of Godrez, snatched the dagger from his hand. Thereafter, Tus, after saying a few angry words to Godrez, left the house of Rustam and went in the direction of Iran proper.

A short time after, Rustam came into the festive assembly, and, seeing all the generals a little sorry, and not observing Tus among them, made inquiries and Burzo told him what had happened. On hearing this, Rustam got a little angry upon his son Framroz, saying that he ought not to have allowed any kind of conflict among his guests. Rustam added that, he was sorry that one of his guests, Tus, who was of the royal family, should have been allowed to go away in such a mood. He added that, an old saying is that "our guests are our kings for the time being." He then asked Godrez to go after Tus and persuade him to return. He said that Tus could be persuaded to return by none but Godrez. He said to Godrez: "It will reflect credit upon you as an old wise man, if, forgetting what had happened, you did the courtesy of trying to bring Tus back to my house." Godrez respected the wishes of Rustam and went after Tus to persuade him to return to the hospitable house of Rustam.

Then, a short time after Godrez left the house of Rustam, Giv, a son of Godrez, represented to Rustam that though Godrez was a wise person, Tus was a person of revengeful spirit. So, to bring about a peaceful end to their past quarrel, it would be better if he (Giv) were allowed to go and join them and bring about a reconciliation. Rustam consented and Giv went after Godrez. Then Gashtam, another general of the court of Iran, asked the permission of Rustam to follow the above two and help the cause of reconciliation and bring back all the three. Rustam consented.

Then Bezan, who was the grandson of Rustam by his daughter Bânû Gushasp, asked his grandfather's permission to go after the three and do his best to settle the whole affair. Rustam consented with some hesitation. and Bejan went after all the

three, taking the clue of his route from the footsteps of their horses. A long time passed over this and none returned. So Rustam got a little anxious, lest, instead of reconciliation there was a further quarrel. So, he spoke to his son Frāmroz on the subject and asked him to go after them and inquire what had happened. Frāmroz obeyed his father and left for the errand.

Thereafter, Rustam continued to be anxious, and when he was talking over the subject with his grandson Burzo, whose name the Persian Burzo-nâmeh bears, his old father Jal came in. On finding that there were no Iranian generals there, and finding that Rustam and Burzo looked depressed, he asked for the reason and was told what had happened. Then Jal said to his son, that, in such a state of affairs, he himself (Rustam) ought to have gone after Tus and not sent Framroz. Jal, in his further observations, distinguished between the Iranians proper and the members of his own family. He said that, the Iranian generals were not always well inclined towards Jal and Rustam and their family who ruled over Jabul as the fief of the Iranian king. They were jealous of the reputation of their family. So, it was not proper for Rustam to have sent his son Framroz in the midst of all the Iranian generals.

Then the story turns to the camp of Susan Râmasbgar and to what happened to Tus in the camp. Tus had left the dining table of the hospitable house of Rustam under the influence of drink, and the poet says that, he who leaves his dinning table in heat and anger suffers some calamity.¹ Tus marched

¹ This belief is still prevalent. The advice is: "Do not leave off your meal which may be before you. Finish it quietly and then go to your work." If, unavoidably, you have to leave off your meal, take, at least, a morsel from it. This old Iranian belief seems to have come down to the Moghal Emperors of India. We read in Jahangir's Tuzuk (Memoirs) that, once, while pursuing his rebelson Khusrau, he was taking his meals, when news came in of a battle being fought in the vicinity. Jahangir left the meals but "immediately took a mouthful by way of augury and mounted" (Tuzuk-i Jahangiri or Memoirs of Jahangir translated by Alexander Rogers and edited by Henry Boveridge (1909), Vol. I. p. 63).

at night in the direction of Iran. The next day also, he continued to march, till he was fatigued. Then he went to sleep on an open ground. Night had fallen when he awoke. He went over the top of a hill to find where he was, and, seeing fire burning in a camp at a distance went in that direction. Going there, he saw a beautiful woman sitting on a throne in all splendour, singing and playing music on an instrument. She was the above referred to Susan Rāmashgar. Tus called for somebody from inside the tent and the songstress herself came out and welcomed him into her tent. On Tus asking what had made her take her lodging in an uninhabited place like that where she was, she gave an untrue account. She said that she was a favourite of the Turānian king Afrāsiāb, but that the machinations of Karsivaz¹ had estranged her, and so to avoid being killed by the king, she had left his court and was thinking of going to the court of Iran. She asked Tus to take her to Iran or to put her on the proper route to that country. Tus, being captivated by her music and sweet language, consented to take her with him to the court of Kaikhosru, the Shāh of Iran. She then entertained Tus with food and drink, and, while giving him a cup of wine, stealthily put into it something which would make one unconscious. Tus drank the wine and soon fell on ground. She then called Pilshûm, the Turānian officer, sent by Afrāsiāb with her to help her. Pilshûm came and tying the hands and feet of Tus made him a prisoner.

Then Godrez also, who had left the house of Rustam to follow Tus and to persuade him to return, happened to come there. On inquiring at the tent, he also was welcomed by the songstress and taken prisoner by the same stratagem as that by which Tus was caught. Then Gashtam and Giv who followed also fell victims to the machinations of

² Karsivaz was the brother of Afrāsiāb. He was the Machiavel of the Turānian Court. He is the Keresavazda of the Avesta (*Zamyād Yasht*, Yt XIX, 77 *Vide my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names, p 58)* M. Mohl's *Livre des Rois*, large edition, Vol IV, p 208.

the woman. They were followed by Bejan, who guided by the foot-prints of the horses of the preceding Iranian officers came to the spot. He did not find the foot-prints further on. So, he got a little suspicious. However, he went near the tent of Susan Rāmashgar and called out. Susan herself appeared and Bejan asked her about the whereabouts of the Iranian generals, the foot-prints of whose horses were not seen further from her place. She sweetly asked Bejan to dismount. Bejan did so, all along holding the reins of his horse in his hands. She brought him some food which he ate. She then prepared a drink for Bejan, who, because he had got a little suspicious of her, as he did not find the foot-prints of the horses of the Iranians further from the house, watched her carefully and observed that she was stealthily pouring something in the wine. When she produced the cup of wine, Bejan said that it was one of the customs of Iran that the host should first drink three cups of wine. So, she should drink first. When she hesitated, he raised his weapon against her, but she ran away calling out her guardian Pilshûm. Pilshûm came and fought with Bejan who was overpowered and taken prisoner and was confined in the same place where Tus and other Iranian generals were confined.

Then Framroz arrived at the spot, following, like Bejan, the foot-prints of the horses of the preceding Iranian officers. He also found that the foot-prints had ended there. Then, there came before him the horse of Bejan from an adjoining pasture-ground and neighed. The neighing of Bejan's horse made the horse of Framroz neigh. Now the sound of the neighing of the horse of Framroz was familiar to Bejan, who, on hearing the neighing, soon found that Framroz had come up there. Thereupon, he called out in the Jabouli language to Framroz and asked him to be on his guard from the machinations of Susan. This shout brought Pilshûm before Framroz, and, after some interchange of words, both began to fight. While they were fighting, there came before them old Jâl himself. Jâl, seeing

the huge bodied Pilshûm fighting with Framroz, thought that, perhaps he (Framroz) will not be a proper match for him and will be killed. So, he addressed him in the Pahlavi language to retire from the battle field, and to hasten towards Rustam to inform him of all that had happened there and to ask him to come there to fight with Pilshûm, because nobody else but Rustam can be a match for Pilshum. In the meantime, Jâl said he would dillydally and take time, avoiding real fight till Rustam arrived. Framroz hesitated to retire, because, he said, he would be put to shame before others, that he, a young man, should leave the fight with a Turânian like Pilshûm to an old man like Jâl. But Jâl persuaded him to go, saying he ought not to disobey the order of an aged grandfather. He himself would have gone to call Rustam, but his horse was all fatigued. So, Framroz left the battle-field and ran to call Rustam. Jâl tried to avoid actual fight with Pilshûm by exchange of words, etc. After some time, Jâl had to fight, but he had merely a desultory fight. He avoided risks. In the meantime Framroz ran to Rustam, who first got angry that young Framroz should have left his aged grandfather to fight with Pilshûm. However, he with his grandson Burzo, at once hastened to Susan Râmashgar's camp, leaving word with Framroz to follow him with an army. On coming to Susan's camp, he opened fight with Pilshûm. Framroz soon came to the battle-field. Afrâsiâb also, hearing of this state of affairs, hastened to the place. The two armies met. Rustam then had a hand-to-hand-fight with Pilshûm who was at last overpowered in wrestling and was killed. In the meantime, the Iranian king Kaikhosru also hearing the above state of affairs came to the battle-field with a large army. In the end, the Iranians turned out successful and the Iranian generals, imprisoned by Susan Râmashgar, were released.

Thus we see that, in this Persian story, Susan plays the part of a poison-damsel.

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